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LAMBETH PALACE, THE CHAPEL IN 1806, SHOWING THE CEILING OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S TIME.

Drawn by F. Nash, engraved by B. Howlett, in Brayley and Herbert's Lambeth Palace Illustrated.

Frontispiece.

THE STORY
of
LAMBETH PALACE
A Historic Survey

BY
DOROTHY GARDINER
AUTHOR OF
Canterbury; Story of the English Towns;
English Girlhood at School.

With a preface by
ARCHBISHOP LORD DAVIDSON
OF LAMBETH

LONDON
CONSTABLE & CO LTD
1930

PUBLISHED BY

Constable & Company Limited
London W.C. 2

•

BOMBAY
CALCUTTA MADRAS

Oxford University
Press

•

TORONTO

The Macmillan Company
of Canada, Limited

•

NEW YORK

Richard R. Smith Inc

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO. LTD.
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, GLASGOW

PREFACE

By ARCHBISHOP LORD DAVIDSON OF LAMBETH

To write a good book about Lambeth Palace and its occupants is evidently a very difficult task. It has been undertaken by seven or eight different authors at various dates during nearly two centuries of its modern life. In 1785 the learned Andrew Coltee Ducarel, ' Keeper of the Lambeth Archives ' and one of the foremost antiquaries and students of his day, issued his *History and Antiquities of the Archiepiscopal Palace of Lambeth*, which has furnished the basis and quarry for all subsequent books upon the subject. And these are not a few. Ducarel's work, much of it uncompleted, was supplemented a few years later by Dr. Samuel Denne, Rector of Lambeth, and at least five other writers during the last century followed suit. The best known of these books is *Lambeth Palace and its Associations*, a vivacious and considerable work written by the Reverend J. Cave Browne and published in 1882.

The difficulty of the subject is made evident by the fact that each of these writers regarded his predecessor's work as erroneous or inadequate. As all these books are now out of print I felt myself to be justified last year in inviting or encouraging my valued friend, Mrs. Gardiner, to enter afresh upon the trodden path. Her literary and historical capacity has been shown in her well-known books on the city of Canterbury and on the progress of female education in England, and she enters upon the Lambeth task with the equipment which recent historical research has made available for the elucidation of many doubtful or obscure facts and conjectures. The painstaking character of her work will be apparent to every reader, and many of the episodes of the last few hundred years will now be seen in a clearer setting than was possible when I myself, for example, in the intervals of more exacting work, began to study them on the spot more than half a century ago.

The writer of any account of Lambeth Palace must needs exercise stern self-control. There is temptation to become the biographer of all the archbishops ; or there is temptation to follow side-tracks of history, engrossing and fascinating, but not rightly to be included in the history of a house or place. And yet, how difficult it is to exercise a true proportion in describing events which have had direct connection with the house and avoiding saunters down inviting avenues of history, which end in a survey of some particular period of the life of Church or State, but are irrelevant to the purpose of the present volume. Mrs. Gardiner has shown strength in withstanding these temptations, and has presented a well-balanced and, so far as I can judge, an accurate account of the vicissitudes through which the old house has passed.

Obviously half the difficulty of making such a history vivid to those who desire accuracy, but who are not reading it on the spot, arises from the drastic—here and there we may say devastating—changes which archbishops or their architects have wrought in the actual buildings which make up the rambling pile of what is, I suppose, with the exception of Buckingham Palace, the largest single dwelling house in London.

For more than seven hundred years Lambeth Palace has been the home of the successive archbishops in unbroken line. Go into the Guard Room and adjacent corridors and you will see an absolutely uninterrupted succession of portraits of archbishops from the fifteenth century down to our own days, and as one glances from picture to picture, or wanders through Chapel, or Post Room, or Library, or Crypt, the mind of anyone who knows his English history runs back instinctively along the centuries to visualize domestic incidents, trifling perhaps in themselves, but illustrative in the closest sense of the Church's chequered life. Chichele with eager interest superintends the building of the Water-Tower which will block the west end of his Chapel ; Morton, as he watches the Christmas revels which enliven his Tower, prophesies great things in the future for that keen

little page-boy of his, Thomas More ; bluff Henry lands at the Great Stairs from across the river to cheer the discouraged Cranmer ; or again, Sir Thomas More, one hot April day, arrives by boat from his Chelsea home to enter on the first stage of his march to death ; Elizabeth, with a gay cavalcade, listens to sermons in the old Cloister ; Laud comes quietly and under strict custody to pay a last visit to the Lambeth so dear to him in order that he may " fetch a book or two to read in " ; Sancroft goes quietly to his stall in Chapel after his triumphant return with his companions from the Tower. Of course these things may not have actually occurred just as one tries to envisage them. But on the other hand, they may. Then I picture at a later date the beginning of visits, few and far between, from American churchmen, and at length of William White, who has given us full particulars of what he saw and did in the domestic circle of the Palace life, before he knelt in the Chapel, in 1787, for his Consecration as the first American bishop on our long historic Roll at Lambeth. These scenes one can multiply almost infinitely. Mrs. Gardiner has vividly presented to us great occasions in the Church's history, and her pages will live. I like with her help to dwell too in thought upon the domestic side, and the incidents which the rooms suggest at every turn. And so one can placidly run on and on into the days which we who are now alive can recall, days which link the present and the future with the past.

Every part of the historic home is to me so dear that I rejoice in the publication of Mrs. Gardiner's book, which will increase the circle of those who know and care. The circle is already very much larger than it was when I was young. The decennial Lambeth Conferences have done very much. Successive bishops and their wives from all parts of the world have become familiar with the house and its library and have carried away remembrance of gatherings which have been making a difference to their lives. Such remembrance, happily renewed for many of them with increasing frequency, can never be dissociated from the name-

centre which has become a household word to American as well as English churchmen. But it is not bishops only. All sorts and conditions of men and women with historical or ecclesiastical taste come to Lambeth in increasing number every year. Further, the novel and constantly increasing intercourse with Orientals has brought into the Christendom of East and West a feature which used to be unknown.

And at Lambeth as elsewhere the World War has wrought great things, or at all events has sown the seed of such. Mrs. Gardiner will, I am sure, have referred to some of these. Into the story of that sowing and its outcome I will not enter.

My privilege here and now is simply to commend both to students and to the general reader a book which shows, I think, in a remarkable degree the power of its author to handle effectively a theme which is both great and difficult, and to bring from out the treasury of a home I love so well what it can best offer of things new and old.

DAVIDSON OF LAMBETH,
Archbishop.

CHELSEA,
Whitsuntide, 1929.

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

MEN and women for whom their country's past is crowded with vivid human experience must always be attracted by the effort to re-create the story of some ancient house, to re-people with historic characters the very rooms where once they talked and laughed among their fellows, where they lived through moments of horror or of triumph, or tranquilly followed out their daily toil. It is the writer's delight to help in this castle-building, to bring, as he may, knowledge to the aid of imaginative insight. This is comparatively an easy task when the monuments of Time, glossed over it may be with a modern surface, but still in essentials unchanged, stand around and their very stones speak aloud. The Tower of London, Windsor Castle, Westminster Abbey, a thousand other venerable houses, castles, churches up and down the land are obvious illustrations. The fate of Lambeth Palace leaves it, on the whole, a less promising subject. It possesses a story second to none in wealth of historic incident, only, as it seems to us to-day, through a provoking lack of imagination, its historic shape has been three parts destroyed. Some reconstruction of the medley of old buildings, which, without design, succeeding generations had huddled together on the plot by the 'muddy haven,' some concession to modern requirements, to convenience, above all to health, was beyond question an imperative necessity. But, when the tale is told, we shall find, with a pang, nearly all that remained of the dwelling-place of Stephen Langton, Chichele, and Morton, of Cranmer, Parker, and Laud was either entirely obliterated, or the evidence was unintelligently falsified, in the pride of constructing a comfortable and dignified mansion in Victorian Gothic.

The Cloisters are gone, and Pole's Gallery, which he built on the site of the Magna Camera; the Guard Room is transmogrified and its proportions spoilt; the summer house which Cranmer's chaplain delightfully contrived has vanished from

the garden. Of later years, again, the surroundings have been much changed by the construction of the Embankment and the buildings of St. Thomas's Hospital between the Palace gardens and the river.

Yet happily the past is not left without witness. The Chapel remains, to which Henry III and his great craftsman Edward, son of Odo, set their hands, and the earlier Crypt, where the shadow of Hubert Walter flits past the ancient walls. We can still climb up to the Lollards' prison, look towards the Westminster of King and Parliament from Chichele's Tower, enter beneath Cardinal Morton's splendid gateway, study in Juxon's Hall, hear the bells of St. Mary's Church ring out over the Thames. The antiquity of the very name ' Lambeth Palace,' which to some people sounds so grandiloquent, is often overlooked ; in fifteenth century Court Rolls the archbishops' house is already called a palace, though they preferred to date their letters from ' Our Manor of Lambeth,' and on Puritan lips it became plain ' Lambeth House ' or ' Canterbury House.' If readers of the story must needs follow much of it without any pictures to aid them beyond those imagination can evoke, many chapters can still be illustrated by a visit to the very rooms and turrets where the incidents took place, while from the walls look down the portraits of successive archbishops.

And if Lambeth Palace to-day is, to a large extent, a modern residence, history is constantly in the making within its gates. The history of the Anglican Church during the last half-century belongs not to England only but to the world. Andrew Ducarel wrote his story of Lambeth Palace in the unstirring days of the Georgian Primates ; Cave Browne wrote his when Queen Victoria had just kept her first Jubilee and Archbishop Tait sat in St. Augustine's Chair. The present version will appear on the eve of the seventh Lambeth Conference, when the archbishops and bishops gather once more from the ends of the earth. The next historian may have chapters to add which transcend all that the past has to show.

Yet the earlier records can never lose their charm, neither can a drama cease to attract Englishmen in which, through the centuries, the great churchmen, the patriots, sometimes the saints, of their race move continually across the stage.

DOROTHY GARDINER.

PRECINCTS, CANTERBURY,
June, 1929.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THIS book owes to Lord Davidson of Lambeth not its preface alone, but much of inspiration and suggestion. Sir Stanford Downing, K.C.B., Secretary of the Ecclesiastical Commission, gave permission for the reproduction of the Estate map of 1812, and drew my attention to other points of topographical interest, while his Secretary, Mr. Brown, made special research among the ancient leases of barge-houses and riverside plots. Mr. H. T. A. Dashwood supplied me, from the Vicar-General's Office, with up-to-date information about the Consecrations in Lambeth Palace Chapel. Dr. Claude Jenkins, Canon of Canterbury, read my chapters and from his fund of knowledge made many helpful observations. Miss Irene Churchill has constantly given me valuable help in the Lambeth Library, and Miss Mary Mills guided me over the Towers and other historic parts of the Palace. To Mrs. R. L. Poole I am indebted for notes on Laud's portrait, and for other information to Sir Charles Firth, the Reverend A. Llewellyn Jones, Rector of Lambeth, Mr. Francis Day of Rochester, and the Reverend C. E. Woodruff.

The Librarian of the House of Lords courteously gave me access to the interesting Laudian petition here produced for the first time, and to other documents in that collection. I gratefully acknowledge that the generosity of all these

friends has much enriched my book. In the absence of any good monograph on the Lambeth Portraits, I am conscious of the particular inadequacy of that section, although it was impossible to omit all reference to pictures of such unique interest.

No early plan of the Archbishops' Manor now appears to exist; a reference to one found, among the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' correspondence, in an antiquary's letter dated 1866, led to a prolonged search in the Bodleian collections—a search not less deserving of my gratitude because it had no success.

D. G.

CHAPTER I

THE STORY OF LAMBETH PALACE

(i) EARLY HISTORY OF THE MANOR

THE nineteen acres of land, including the meadow now lent for a people's park, which form the site and grounds of Lambeth Palace, come into manorial history scarcely half a century before the Conquest. Possibly they belonged to an ancient manor, one of a group of estates that together constituted the royal manor of Lambeth. At any rate, in the mid-eleventh century there existed at least three adjacent properties to which the name of Lambehyth or Lamhei was applied.

1062.—The first of these was granted by charter of King Edward the Confessor to the monks of Waltham Abbey, newly founded by Harold, Godwine's son : its boundaries, which at no point touched the river and included a mark-stone at Brixton [Brixi-stan], suggest that it covered the southern area of meadow and ploughland. The second and central member of the group doubtless bore the name of Kennington [Chenintun], or King-town, because from Saxon times (and at least until the sixteenth century) it contained a royal residence with an interesting history of its own.

It was probably in the King's house at Lambeth that Harold, after the Confessor's death, put the crown of the realm upon his own head ;[1] in the royal manor-house at Kennington citizens of London made a mummery before the Black Prince[2] ; and in the grounds of the ancient

[1] Matt. Paris, *Hist. Anglic.*, Prologue, vol. i, p. 6 (Rolls 44).

[2] Stow, *Survey* (1663), p. 29.

princely dwelling at ' Lamehith ' a great tournament was held for the entertainment of the Spanish envoys who had come to England in connection with the betrothal of the Princess Mary, daughter of King Henry VII, and the Prince of Castile.[1]

The third portion round which our story centres is described in Domesday as the " Manor of St. Mary called Lanchei " (miswritten for Lambei) : its northern boundary was the Thames' shore and to it the epithet of ' Mud-Haven ' must originally have belonged. For, in view of the surroundings of the manor, the most likely derivation of a word which takes protean shape in innumerable documents is that it is compounded of the Saxon *lām*, clay or earth, and *hȳð*, a haven. Ducarel (who himself derives the name from ' *lamb* a lamb, and *hyd*, a harbour ') enumerates no less than seventeen different spellings (Lambhyth, Lameh, Lamheia and so forth), while others will be found in the course of this history.[2]

In the Confessor's time, as Domesday sets forth, Countess Goda, the King's sister, owned the manor of St. Mary, and where rows of humble dwellings now thickly cover the soil the eyes of our forefathers rested upon stretches of ploughland interspersed with woods and meadows. It was customary for the lord of the manor to build a church near his capital house, and a church, dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, stood within Goda's manor, the predecessor of the existing parish church. There seem to have been already a few small houses or booths rented by London burgesses, and about 240 acres of the property around the manor-house was farmed by the countess's bailiff, with the labour, in lieu of rent, of twelve tenants and of twenty-six cottagers.[3] This then was that manor and church of Lambeth, which she gave in perpetual alms to the Church of St. Andrew at

[1] *Bernardi Andreæ, Vita Hen. VII*, p. 106. (Mem. of Hen. VII, Rolls 10).

[2] Ducarel, *History and Antiquities of Lambeth Palace*, p. 122.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Rochester. Goda, who shared her brother's piety, perhaps also his gentle and yielding character, had good reason to make peace-offering for conscience' sake. She was, at this time, by a second marriage, the wife of Eustace, Count of Boulogne, whose high-handed and insolent conduct to the men of Dover brought about a fierce struggle between Earl Godwine, their overlord, and the Confessor, defending his kinsman's claims.

By her first marriage to Walter, Earl of Mantes, she was the mother of Randulph, Earl of Hereford : in a society of fighting men her only son had earned the ignoble title of coward for having left his city undefended to the mercy of marauding Danes, and its bishop and citizens to perish by fire.[1] It seems likely that Goda made use of the manor-house on the property, and lived on the south bank as did other noble persons of her day.[2] After the manor of St. Mary passed into monastic hands there was certainly a commodious dwelling-house on the estate, where the bishops of Rochester had a prescriptive right to lodge when business took them to town and where successive archbishops of Canterbury were entertained. Indeed, until the time of Baldwin, every archbishop, except Becket, performed some public ceremony in the chapel attached to the monks' manor-house of Lambeth, whether it were of ordination or consecration.[3]

This chapel had associations with the Countess Goda, and was furnished with considerable splendour. A gold and silver reliquary encased some object of special veneration ; there was a copy of the Gospels in covers adorned with silver and precious gems ; the faldstools for the kneeling worshippers were of iron and silver ; on the altar were silver crosses and candelabra of copper gilt. The singers carried staves and

[1] Ric. de Cirenc. *Spec. Hist.* ii, pp. 250-3 (Rolls 30).

[2] At ' Lamebeheth ' Harthacanute the Dane " died as he stood at his drink in the house of Osgod Clapa," a wealthy thegn. Ducarel, *Hist. of Parish of Lambeth*, p. 2.

[3] *Addenda to Hist. of Lambeth Palace*, S. Denne (1795), p. 176. (Bibliog. Top. vol. x.)

there were embroidered cloths for the service of the Mass. When the monk Rudolf (brother of Ansfrid, sheriff of Kent) was appointed the first steward of the newly acquired property, he brought to Rochester some of the sacred ornaments of Goda's chapel, and at a later date they are recorded among the treasures of the house.[1] Harold, son of Godwine, during his brief supremacy, seized St. Mary's manor, with other neighbouring lands, and in the general upheaval that followed the coming of the Normans, Odo, the rapacious Bishop of Bayeux, acquired the greater part of the glebe belonging to Lambeth church.

William the Conqueror recognized the prior right of the church of Rochester, and made to it a re-grant of St. Mary's church with all its appurtenances of land, wood and water, and the dues and tolls once the property of Goda as lady of the manor ; his grant was confirmed by charter of William Rufus, and by Henry I, Stephen, Henry II and Edward I.[2] During the next century some fragments of manorial history may be gathered from the ecclesiastical records of Rochester.

1103.—The manor of ' Lameth ' was included among the estates which Bishop Gundulf of Rochester, with the approbation of Henry I and Archbishop Anselm, granted his monks of St. Andrew, to provide them with sustenance ; Gundulf asked in return only a provision-rent to enable him and his successors to keep hospitable entertainment, namely 1,000 lampreys from Thames' waters to be paid yearly on St. Andrew's Day.[3] The next bishop, Ernulf, in pious memory of his predecessor, assessed the manor at one salmon from the reach of the Thames belonging to it, a salmon to be eaten by the brothers in refectory, in grateful remembrance of their benefactor, good Bishop Gundulf.[4]

In Stephen's reign arose a dispute between Bishop Ascelin and the monks as to the ultimate ownership of the church

[1] Thorpe, *Reg. Roff.*, p. 119. The list was made (p. 125) at some time after 1327.

[2] Thorpe, *loc. cit.*, pp. 383, 459.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

of Lambeth. The apostolic legate, Emarus, bishop of Tusculum, was called in as arbitrator, and decided in favour of the monks' claim that church and manor stood together, and that both were included in the grant 'for the monks' provisioning.' [1]

A contest far more embittered and prolonged, and not confined to local jealousies, began the connection, now more than seven centuries old, of the archbishops of Canterbury with the manor of Lambeth.

(ii) ARCHBISHOP BALDWIN (1185-1193) AND HIS COLLEGE OF HACKINGTON

The famous quarrel between the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, and two successive archbishops, in which four popes played the role of *deus ex machina*, has often been described. As a human document it is full of interest and not devoid of humour; as an historic document it is an invaluable illustration of our Church's early relations with the continent; in the history of Lambeth Palace it is really the central factor, giving meaning to the site of the time-honoured buildings. In the pages of Gervase of Canterbury the historian, himself an impassioned actor on the monks' side, we see the brethren of Christchurch and their prior, narrowed by circumstance, jealous and calculating; subservient to a foreign potentate, and cringing to the cardinals of Rome; childishly vain yet full of a devoted loyalty to their ancient house, they are fiercely at issue with sturdy, obstinate and far-sighted Englishmen, often indeed unscrupulous and high-handed, but seldom forgetful that they are ministers of the realm of England and bishops of her island church. The scene of our story now for a time shifts to Canterbury.

The prior and convent yielded only under pressure to the election of Baldwin, a nominee of the bishops, to the primacy, and from the outset Baldwin made plain his intention to limit monastic interference and to narrow the bounds

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 41-46.

of monastic privilege. On the first anniversary of his election, for reasons of his own, he deprived the convent of their ' exennia,' the Christmas gifts in kind, which from time immemorial their tenants had brought to Canterbury, and originally, no doubt, had intended as offerings to the Church of Christ. He further curtailed their charities by seizing three churches appropriated to the almonry, and next the manors of the convent. By the friendly mediation of certain abbots a partial truce was contrived, the manors were restored, and on their side the monks agreed to withdraw the appeal they had already made to Rome. But a section of them, more astute, perhaps more quarrelsome than the rest, of whom Gervase not improbably was ringleader, opposed any and every concession to Baldwin, and both parties were soon embroiled afresh and appealing to Pope Urban III to support their claims.[1] In this way began a wearisome struggle of some fifteen years' duration, a struggle of which the very mention was at last said to bring a blush to the papal cheek.[2]

In the first round Baldwin seemed likely to triumph ; and to press home his advantage, he determined, without the least delay, to found a college of secular clerks, under his immediate authority. Whether or not he intended ultimately to transfer to this body the right of primatial election and other privileges claimed by the Christchurch monks, this was the interpretation placed upon his actions by the monks themselves.[3] The bishops were in full accord with his proposals, the king gave a ready assent. His plans included a new church of wondrous beauty to be dedicated in the name of St. Stephen and St. Thomas of Canterbury, and he selected for his experiment the existing church of St. Stephen, scarcely a mile away in the northern suburbs of

[1] Stubbs, *Memorials of Richard I*, Epp. Cant., vol. ii, pp. 3 *et seq.* (Rolls 38).

[2] Stubbs, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 509, " ut vix questionis hujusmodi non tam inveteratæ quam veteris audiamus absque rubore fieri mentionem . . . " (Innocent III).

[3] " ut credebatur," says the historian.

Canterbury.[1] Baldwin's design was not entirely original, and he was not the first archbishop to feel resentment at monastic arrogance. We learn on the authority of Peter of Blois that St. Anselm had made a similar plan, and the church of St. Stephen in part at least was of his construction. What he left unfinished Thomas Becket, but for his cruel death, had intended to carry further ; Archbishop Richard had thought of moving church and college to Maidstone ; Baldwin reverted to the site first chosen.[2] The threat to the prerogative of Christchurch and to the potential wealth of the place where the murdered Archbishop Thomas Becket lay buried and trains of pilgrims already attested the healing virtue of the martyr's tomb, filled the monks with angry alarm. The rumour of Baldwin's arrival at Canterbury seemed to their excited imagination to portend the destruction of their order ; some of them fell sick with apprehension. Miraculous intervention, says the chronicler, came speedily to their relief. The holy blissful martyr appeared to a young monk, by name Andrew John, on the feast of St. Katharine ; a wheel, emitting crimson fire, was shown to him in the tower adjoining the choir,[3] and next an apparition of Baldwin himself, in company with three monsters holding weapons huge and black. This vision, thrice repeated, created a profound impression. The sword, inscribed in golden letters ' Gladiolus beati Petri apostoli,' which, in the dream, Blessed Thomas had unsheathed against the aggressors, could bear but one interpretation ; an urgent cry for help went forward to Peter's Chair. Events moved quickly. Within a week Baldwin at Gillingham learnt of this new manœuvre from three messengers of Prior Honorius, of whom Gervase was spokesman. When they protested against the new college and the rival church, and the Archbishop enquired if indeed he had no right to build on territory

[1] Gervase of Cant., vol. i, pp. 337 *et seq.* (Rolls 73).

[2] Stubbs, *loc. cit.*, Appendix, p. 556.

[3] That is, in one of the existing chapels of St. Anselm and St. Andrew.

of his own—they vowed that the land belonged neither to him nor any other archbishop but only to the Church.[1]

December 16, 1186.—Baldwin now proceeded to Canterbury, prepared, if necessary by force, to introduce his new canons into their temporary church on St. Stephen's Day. Prior Honorius heard of his intention and sent monks to interrupt the proceedings: Baldwin promptly suspended them and celebrated Mass before his clerks. He went on further to imprison prior and monks within their convent, and to order the sequestration of their property. Then suddenly he determined on a change of tactics, and removed his building operations from the churchyard of St. Stephen's to a field opposite St. Dunstan's Church, without the parish of Hackington, from which, however, the college continued to take its name. There on the eighteenth of February 1187, amid a hailstorm of ominous violence, he laid the first foundations.[2] The menace of the new site, from its nearness to the Cathedral and to the pilgrims' road, stirred the convent to yet more violent opposition, which merely confirmed the Archbishop in his determination. Rather than suffer delay for lack of funds, he began to build his chapel in wood, of very small dimensions, with some dwellings adjacent to it, and issued an appeal for money to the faithful. The tiny edifice seemed to the monks the embodiment of their fears; again and again they appealed to Rome, and mandate followed mandate for the suspension of the modest enterprise. One of these documents, carried hot-foot by the convent messengers, reached Baldwin in Wales: he perused it with the laconic remark "We have heard the Pope's letters and what we have to do shall forthwith be done," [3] and observing that the papal injunction lay against a wooden chapel he gave orders to begin constructing one in stone and cement. The death of Pope Urban III in October, 1187, and the succession of Gregory

[1] Gervase, *loc. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 342 *et seq.*

[2] Gervase, p. 356.

[3] Litteras papae audivimus, et nos quod habemus facere inde faciemus," Gervase, *loc. cit.*, p. 365.

VIII, turned the scale in favour of Baldwin, and the monks, realising their hopeless plight, "mingled their drink with weeping," but the new Pope died within three months, and his successor, Clement III, reverted to Urban's mandate and demanded the immediate destruction of chapel and college. Baldwin, driven to extremities, promptly surrounded his buildings with a deep fosse and prepared the entrances to stand a siege, while the monks, taking fresh courage, re-adorned their great church and celebrated Easter with rejoicings over their imminent triumph.[1] Peace, however, still tarried. The Primate, unyielding but well aware of the obstinacy of his opponents, again changed his plans and began negotiations with the Convent of Rochester for a site in the proximity of Parliament at Westminster and the royal palace of Kennington, one which the hospitality of the monks had already made familiar to successive archbishops.[2] As far as he was concerned, he closed the chapter at Canterbury by levelling the clerks' houses to the ground and removing the material to Lambeth, leaving only the chapel of St. Stephen and St. Thomas the Martyr still standing in the field by St. Dunstan's Church.[3]

(iii) THE MANOR OF LAMBETH AND THE MONKS OF ST. ANDREW'S, ROCHESTER

Baldwin now approached the Bishop, the Prior, and Convent of Rochester, by Goda's liberality the owners for more than a century of the manor of Lambeth, with a view of acquiring on certain conditions a portion of their riverside estate. He had added to his original scheme a dwelling-house for himself and his successors, and chosen for its site

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 424.

[2] Denne (*loc. cit.* p. 176) gives a list of ordinations and consecrations held "in the ville of St. Andrew of Rochester . . . near London . . . called Lamheta" or "at Lambeth in the chapel of the church of Rochester, where the archbishop then lodged."—Cf. List of consecrations, *infra*, p. 253.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 484.

part of the ' curia ' at Lambeth, that is the yard or garden. The manor-house itself, says Denne, the monks would retain so long as they continued lords of the manor.[1] The new church and college were to be erected on 24 acres of demesne land beyond the curia.[2] The monks' rights in the parish church were respected, as well as in the ditches surrounding the court and garden, which controlled their mill-stream. For his part of the bargain the Archbishop gave a sheepwalk in the Isle of Grain on the north side of the Medway, where John son of Eilgar was at the moment his tenant, paying a rental of sixty shillings. As soon as the exchange was completed, " John of Grean " agreed, or was induced, to render his new landlords, " in pure and perpetual alms," a further sum of 20/- a year for his holding, on condition that his son Robert was received into the community at Rochester. During the octave of the Epiphany in 1190, Baldwin ordered the pavilions which were part of his equipment for the First Crusade to be erected in a level field on his newly acquired property, and the site for the new chapel and clerks' houses to be thus marked out: then having received his pilgrim staff and scrip from the altar of Christ at Canterbury, he crossed from Dover and bade a last farewell to England.[3]

1191.—Early in the new year Acre fell, and in March came news of the Archbishop's death in the Holy Land. Immediately the contest of turbulent wills began afresh over the choice of his successor. Celestine III, who in the same month was elected to the papacy, brought to life Urban's slumbering mandate, and wrote to his commissioners, the Bishop of Bath and the Abbots of Reading and Waltham, requiring the destruction of the derelict chapel at Canterbury. The monks, ready enough to gratify a futile jealousy, gathered

[1] Denne, *loc. cit.*, p. 166.

[2] " Preterea extra curiam viginti quatuor acras et unam perticatam . . . ad edificandam ecclesiam in honorem beati martyris Thome et edificia canonicorum ibidem serviturorum exstruenda." Thorpe, *loc. cit.*, p. 434.

[3] Gervase, vol. ii (Actus Pontif.), p. 405, and cf. vol. i, p. 484.

to St. Dunstan's field a mob of clerks and common people of the city, and read in their hearing the papal letters condemning the chapel as accursed and profane ; then the populace rushed in and quickly levelled it in fragments to the ground.[1] The memory of the little shrine lingered about the spot and passed into tradition. The owners of property in the vicinity continued to designate the field as that where the " new Chapel of Blessed Thomas the Martyr " had stood,[2] and the adjoining hill to-day bears the name of St. Thomas's Hill.[3]

June 1193.—At last, after several abortive elections and prolonged dispute, Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury, on the nomination of the captive Richard Cœur de Lion, was chosen to fill the primatial seat : he received his cross at Lewisham from the hands of the monk Gervase, with the words " Nuntius sum, venerande pater, nuntium ferens optimum non hominis sed Dei," and proceeding to Canterbury was warmly greeted by the Convent and invested with the pall.[4] In spite of this promising beginning the old embers still glowed and were all too easily fanned into flame. Two years later, with some reluctance, egged on by certain bishops and clergy who were no friends of the priory, Hubert attempted to revive Baldwin's detested project. The chapel and the small canons' houses already partially erected there pointed undoubtedly to the Lambeth site, apart from its old associations and convenient proximity to " the noble city of London " and to the king's court, which, for business of church and realm, the Archbishop of Canterbury had constantly to

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 499.

[2] A grant (c. 1200) in Eastbridge Hospital Muniments (No. 97), at Canterbury, has a reference to " the land of Thomas the baker near the field in which the new Chapel of Blessed Thomas the Martyr was situated." The Reverend C. E. Woodruff kindly supplied this information.

[3] Some authorities surmise that the carved stones of the chapel were re-erected at Barfreston Church, near Dover.

[4] Gervase, *loc. cit.*, vol. i, p. 521.

attend.[1] Monastic opposition to the whole scheme had if anything increased in intensity : funds had run short before the re-building of the great choir was complete, and anything which, as the monks chose to assume, derogated from the dignity of Canterbury might still further prejudice their finance. Their weapon lay ready to hand. Not the Canterbury chapel alone had fallen under Pope Celestine's malediction ; a letter bearing date in May 1191 prohibited any building in rivalry at Lambeth, and another of 1192 relieved the clerks of Lambeth from their oath taken to Archbishop Baldwin and their obligation to serve his new church.[2]

Hubert in perplexity suggested, as Archbishop Richard had once done, a site at Maidstone, but this was equally distasteful to his monkish critics, who did not hesitate to harangue him on the demerits of secular clerks. Turning a deaf ear, Hubert now approached the monks of Rochester to effect an exchange of the whole of their manor of Lambeth, part of which Baldwin had already acquired for the see. It was accordingly arranged that the coveted manor, with its church, its dues and liberties and other appurtenances in London and Southwark, excepting only a mill on the Thames-side opposite the Tower of London, should pass to the Archbishop, and in return the manor of Darenth and its church, with the chapel of Helles, a sheepfold called Eastmarsh-in-Cliff and 220 sheep at pasture on the marsh, should become the property of the monks of Rochester. Certain tenants in servitude in the ville of Cliff were included in the bargain, namely, Humeric, Thomas, Widow Hagenilda, Joscelin, Walter the Beadle, Gilwin, Martin, William, Adam and Gilmer the fisherman, with their lands, rents and services.[3]

Before the agreement was concluded, the Bishop of Rochester, Gilbert de Glanville, who had interested himself in making a better provision of episcopal residences in his diocese, and was now losing a house he and his predecessors

[1] Gervase, *loc. cit.*, vol. i, p. 534. [2] Stubbs, *loc. cit.*, pp. 336, 361.
[3] Thorpe, *Reg. Roff.*, p. 45.

had often occupied, intervened, and declared that any loss of privilege to himself and his successors involved in the exchange must be suitably compensated. Accordingly he received, in addition to a pension of five marks out of the revenues of the rectory, " a piece of ground next the church of the blessed martyrs Stephen and Thomas at Lambeth, eastward, containing in length, towards the south seventeen perches, and towards the north eighteen perches and three feet, and towards the east ten perches and thirteen feet, and towards the west eleven perches and nine feet, with the buildings upon it, freely and peaceably, in everlasting possession." [1] Among the signatures to the bond were Master Peter of Blois, Walter, the Abbot of Holy Cross of Waltham, and Master Gervase. On this site the house called La Place was built, and remained for more than 300 years in the ownership of the Bishops of Rochester.

This transaction was completed in 1197, but the deed, which is extant, with its seven seals, among the Cotton MSS., bears no date and no archiepiscopal signature other than the letter H. More than a century later its authenticity was questioned, and Prior Henry of Eastry and the convent of Christchurch were called upon to produce evidence that the pension of five marks had truly been imposed by Hubert Walter and paid by prescriptive right for 125 years. In due time they formally declared that they had made, word by word, letter by letter, an exact transcript of the deed, and ascertained beyond doubt that it carried no sequence of letters but the aspirate alone, " H. Dei gracia." Next they

[1] *Reg. Roff*, p. 11. It is impossible, after this lapse of time, to identify Bishop Glanville's plot; as however there is reason to believe that the present chapel at Lambeth occupies the site of Hubert's original chapel, which is apparently referred to as the church of St. Stephen and Thomas the Martyr, the expression " next the church " can hardly mean 'adjacent to.' Until 1539 the Bishops of Rochester had a house on the eastern boundary of the Lambeth estate. In that year a threefold arrangement was made by which the Bishop of Rochester became possessed of Lord Russell's mansion at Chiswick, and the Bishop of Carlisle occupied the Lambeth residence.—Cf. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Dom. Hen. VIII*, vol. xiv, part i, p. 403 (867, cap. 26).

had searched their archives, and drawn up a list of archbishops from Becket to the present date. "We do not find," their answer runs, "in the said archives that there was ever an archbishop, from the time of the glorious martyr Thomas to the present day, except Hubert, whose name began with an H, or who was habitually distinguished by the aspirate at the beginning of his document."[1]

The restless intriguing of the priory was silenced no longer than to give Gervase time to set his name to the exchange. When news reached Canterbury that the Pope had licensed Hubert to proceed with his church and college at Lambeth, provided only all was done within the canon ("canonice"), a fresh storm burst and a campaign of misrepresentation, unequalled by anything the monks had ventured hitherto, at once began. In November, 1197, the Archbishop showed his readiness to conciliate by sending abbots throughout England to seek advice from nobles and prelates about his project.[2] But at this point two monks, Nicholas and Simon, left the cloister, without permission, in their zeal to state the convent's case at Rome, and hearing of their unauthorised embassy, Hubert pronounced upon them sentence of excommunication.[3] He had a stalwart ally in King Richard I, whose sense of fair play revolted against the convent's double-dealing, and whose pride in English liberty resented the insolent tone of the papal mandate;[4] this now required the Primate to rase his chapel at Lambeth to the ground, and invalidated his sentence against the runaway brethren.[5] The monkish scribes meanwhile, hurrying their messengers backwards and forwards across Europe with such feverish speed that one letter had not waited for reply before another was despatched, stooped to the lowest depth of base flattery and scheming. They fawned upon the cardinals, and at

[1] Thorpe, *Reg. Roff.*, pp. 12, 13
[2] Stubbs, *loc. cit.* p. 384.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 377.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 406.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 398.

LAMBETH PALACE. INTERIOR OF THE GREAT HALL 1806, AS REBUILT BY ARCHBISHOP JUXON 1660-63.

Drawn by F. Nash, engraved by D. Smith, in Brayley and Herbert's Lambeth Palace Illustrated.

To face page 15.

home intrigued for the queen's favourable support, and even approached the Bishop of Ely to discover if the King himself could be bribed over to their side.[1]

Richard took vigorous measures to bring the convent to order, sent his justiciar to enrol their treasure and seized their manors. Such forcible proceedings were indeed an embarrassment to Hubert, who feared they might add to his difficulties with the papacy, and by his intercession the manors were restored.[2]

January 2, 1199.—Soon however he received a second mandate, and weary of struggle, of threat and machination, with the King's consent at last gave orders for the demolition of the chapel on which so much had been spent.[3] The monks' gratitude to the Holy Father found expression in the offer of an obit on the anniversary of his death, while Master Hugo, his chaplain and kinsman, was presented with a relic of St. Thomas of Canterbury.[4] Even yet the dispute had not received its quietus; Hubert might think it his best policy to yield on the main issue, but he could not let the priory go unreproved. His displeasure showed itself in fresh confiscations, and again Rome was required to intervene.

October 1200.—At length, on the death of Richard I, a body of arbitrators was appointed who promulgated their decision after a few weeks' deliberation. They agreed that the Archbishop might build at Lambeth, but not on the old unhappy site, a church of Praemonstratensian as distinguished from secular canons. The endowment was limited to one hundred pounds, derived from revenues of churches in the see, so long as the convent's churches were not mulcted. The building was to be moderate in size, to accommodate not less than twenty nor more than thirty canons, and neither ordinations, councils, nor consecrations were to be held there to give it archiepiscopal dignity. The Archbishop was forbidden expressly to build a college of secular canons, endowed with the goods of the church of Canterbury, with-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 439.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 446.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 466, cf. p. 475.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 476.

out the consent of the convent, or of the greater and saner part of its members.[1]

November 6, 1200.—To this award both parties gave assent, each in turn declaring that by no papal compulsion but by divine grace the quarrel at last had reached a happy conclusion.[2] It is however problematical whether, in the nine months' interval between Hubert's order and the pronouncement of the arbitrators, the offending chapel was, or was not, rased to the ground.

[1] Stubbs, *loc. cit.*, p. 512. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 515.

CHAPTER II

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

(i) LAMBETH AND STEPHEN LANGTON (1207-1229)

ARCHBISHOP HUBERT WALTER was succeeded in the primacy by the great statesman and ecclesiastic Stephen Langton, whose name in the thoughts of Englishmen is inseparably linked with the Magna Carta of their liberties. Whether or not Hubert had ever lived in the manor-house so hardly won for his see—and in his latter years he was much in France—Archbishop Langton speedily adopted it as a place of occasional residence: as early as 1207 he issued from Lambeth certain letters to his province—notably one which checked the drunken carousals prevalent at ' scot-ales ' but permitted needful refreshment for pilgrims and travellers.[1] Nor was it long before there began the great series of public events which were destined to take place within the riverside manor.

September 11, 1217.—Some authorities give the name of Lambeth, rather than of Staines or Kingston, to the treaty signed on behalf of the child king Henry III which forced the French invaders under Louis VIII to withdraw from English soil. This treaty, it will be remembered, followed upon the victory of Hubert de Burgh and the men and ships of the Cinque Ports, off the North Foreland, over a French fleet greatly superior in numbers. Hubert's ships had been blessed at their departing by the Bishop of Salisbury, and after their victory, miraculous as it seemed to be, he and his men on landing were met by a triumphal procession of " the ministers of state, nobles, soldiers and people, headed by

[1] Spelman, *Concilia*, vol. ii, p. 133.

five bishops in their robes, with crosses and banners, chanting and praising God." It was fitting that the final act also should take place under the ægis of the Church.[1]

(ii) EARLY HISTORY OF THE GREAT CHAPEL AND OTHER BUILDINGS

The loss of the early archiepiscopal registers (which are believed to have been carried to Rome by Archbishop Kilwardby and never afterwards recovered) leaves in some obscurity the historical origins of the buildings at Lambeth. We cannot, for example, tell exactly what provision for divine worship had been made in the manor-house by Hubert Walter, nor what Archbishop Stephen Langton found there on his arrival. The position with regard to the chapel is not, however, quite so obscure as historians of the palace have hitherto been inclined to presume. Recent expert examination of the restored crypt has shown the strong probability that it was the work of Archbishop Hubert's time and that it at least must have escaped the supposed wholesale destruction of the chapel at the Pope's imperious command.

Richard Magnus, June 10, 1229–*August* 1, 1231.—After Stephen Langton's death in July, 1228, there was a vacancy of six years, broken by the short tenure of Richard Magnus. At the beginning of this period (during which the revenues passed automatically into the King's keeping) an order was issued "to the keepers of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, to cause the houses of the Archbishop at Lambeth to be roofed and repaired."[2] Nor was

[1] *D.N.B.*, art. H. de Burgh and V.C.H. Surrey, vol. iv, p. 45, but cf. Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora*, vol. iii, p. 30 (Rolls 57). Henry III in 1231 kept Christmas at Lambeth and a few months later, on Sept. 14, when Hubert had fallen into disgrace, bishops, clergy and commons met there to vote supplies (Matt. Paris, *loc. cit.*, pp. 200-203). But this was during the vacancy of the see after Richard Magnus's death, and these events more probably happened at the royal palace at Kennington than, as Ducarel seems to imply, at the manor of the archbishop.

[2] *Cal. of Liberate Rolls, Henry III*, vol. i, (1226-40), p. 111. A Bull of Urban IV (1262) refers, in a retrospect of forty years, to some reconstruction of the ancient houses carried out by Boniface's predecessors.

this all. At the same time it was ordered that " Baldwin de Neuport, chaplain, ministering in the chapel of Lambeth (Lameheya) and keeping the houses of the archbishopric there," was to have a stipend of 5 marks a year from the income of the see while it was vacant. These orders were repeated, during the vacancy which followed the death of Archbishop Richard. The chaplains both at Lambeth and Canterbury were to receive their established wages : a sum of money (5s. 8d.) which had been expended by Walter de Kirkham, Clerk of the Wardrobe, " in towels bought and in wax for the chapels," was also to be refunded.[1] It is thus abundantly clear that there was at Lambeth a chapel served by chaplains, during and immediately after the primacy of Stephen Langton : the only question is whether Archbishop Stephen or Hubert Walter was the builder of it. The possible date of its erection is narrowed down to the years between 1199, when the papal mandate for destruction was presumably fulfilled, and 1228, when Baldwin de Neuport was ministering within its walls.[2]

Edmund Rich, 1233-1240.—The earliest of the Court Rolls at Lambeth belongs to the period of Archbishop Edmund's primacy. This roll for the year 1234[3] is very fragmentary but it yet preserves a few intimate details of the inner life of the manor at that early date. The garden, which the monks of

[1] *Ibid.* (1233), p. 198. The payment of chaplains' wages and of the ' established alms ' is again recorded in October of the same year. *Ibid.* (1233, Oct. 3), p. 237.

[2] It may be remembered that twice during these years, namely from 1207 to 1213, and again from 1215 to 1218, Stephen Langton was an exile and no building could have gone on at Lambeth.

Archbishop Edmund Rich made in 1239 an appeal to Rome, in familiar terms, for licence to endow a college of secular canons with benefices in his gift and archiepiscopal revenues, the site to be either at Hackington, Maidstone or Lambeth. His appeal, in view of all the circumstances, is wrapt in mystery, unless indeed it was regarded by Rome as ' standing business,' coming up automatically year by year. In reply, the papal indult already in being (presumably that issued to Hubert Walter at the close of the long controversy) was left unaltered. *Cal. Papal Letters*, vol. i, p. 59.

[3] *Lambeth Court Rolls*, No. 1193.

Rochester had originally laid out, is still carefully cultivated ; and the produce of the orchard, pears and other fruit, is on sale at the garden-gate ; a crop of flax and hemp is sown in the garden-plot ; and turfs, dug on the Archbishop's land at Norwood, are laid out in the " new herbarium."

Timber is also felled at Norwood and carted to Lambeth for building operations. Repairs are going on about the houses ; tiles, chalk and sand are purchased ; a tiler is paid for mending the roof of the Great Hall, the chambers in the courtyard and the kitchen ; a plasterer for plastering sundry walls ; a glazier for repairing the chapel windows. The old stable is pulled down, and quantities of nails and staples and some latches are procured for the new stable. Seven furlongs of the great ditch which surrounded the curia or outer courtyard are cleansed, and a hedge planted along the banks next the road, to strengthen them.

Guests come and go. The Archdeacon of Bath, probably Hugh de Wells, falls ill and dies during a visit to the Archbishop, and the expenses of his illness are charged to the household accounts. Officials arrive on business errands and receive their fees ; among them Master R. de Stafford, Archdeacon of Stafford, Simon de Saint Liz, Seneschal of the Bishop of Chichester, and Brother W. de Feryby, as well as one ' B. Burell ' (probably Baldwin de Burel or Burewell) and Master Adam le Sauser, who were both in the service of Henry III. The alms given to sick men, such as Walter the Naper, are also accounted for, together with the mending of horse-trappings and the wages of the brewer hired to help brew the household beer.

1240.—During yet another vacancy, following the death of St. Edmund, Edward son of Odo was bidden to take the buildings at Lambeth (*domos de Lammegh*) into the royal custody, but for the time being, to deliver them to the nuncio of the bishop elect of Hereford, to whom the King had lent them for his consecration feast.[1] At this point we find the record of a most interesting occurrence. On

[1] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, vol. 1237-42, p. 253 (1240).

December 9, 1243, the King issues to the Bishop of Hereford and Bartholomew Peche or Pechie, a trusted officer of his household, an order to execute repairs in the chapel of the Archbishop of Canterbury at ' Lamheg ' of which it stood in need. These repairs are to be completed in anticipation of the arrival in England of Boniface of Savoy, the Archbishop elect ; if he refuses to pay the bill the King undertakes to do so.[1] On the completion of the chapel in the following year, Edward son of Odo is instructed to provide for use at the services a golden chalice, two flagons, two basons and a silver thurible.[2] Edward, son of Odo le Orfevre, also known as Edward of Westminster, was, like his father, one of the remarkable group of craftsmen who ministered to the artistic tastes of King Henry III. A man of versatile accomplishment, painter, goldsmith, embroiderer, gardener even, planting cuttings and young cherry trees in the royal garden,[3] he seems to have been the Leonardo da Vinci of his day. He held at this time the post of King's Clerk, and occupied a court or office at Westminster where he was privileged to have a pipe of water the size of a goosequill conducted into his premises from the royal aqueduct supplying the Great Hall.[4] Edward had had much practical experience in every department of ecclesiastical art, whether it were the embroidery of gorgeous ceremonial vestments, mural decoration, such as the portrayal of the four evangelists, with two great lions face to face, in the King's Chamber,[5] the making of royal banners striped with gold[6] or of crowns for images of the saints. Two years before the repairs in Lambeth chapel were placed in his hands he was concerned in the rebuilding

[1] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, vol. 1242-1247, p. 140 (1243).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 163 (1244). The words are " quod ad capellariam quam rex fieri precepit ad opus B. electi Cantuariensis perficiendam, fieri faciat calicem, etc."

[3] *Cal of Liberate Rolls*, vol. i, 1226-40, p. 376.

[4] *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, vol. 1232-47, p. 430.

[5] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, vol. 1242-47, pp. 19 and 45 (1243).

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

of the Abbey, then just beginning, and with the goldsmiths' and marble cutters' work on the Confessor's shrine,[1] while he took part both in building the 'New Temple' Church, and the operations at the Tower of London.[2] It is thus of exceptional interest to find his name associated with Lambeth chapel, while there can be little doubt that the sacred vessels, the chalice and thurible, which King Henry ordered were to be of his Clerk's own workmanship.

The narrative suggests that the 'repairs' to the chapel amounted in the end to a reconstruction, and one cannot but remember the thoroughness of King Henry's methods at Westminster. But another question then arises. If the chapel had been re-erected from the foundations between the years 1199 and 1228, is it not remarkable that in forty years at most it should have fallen into such disrepair? Is it not conceivable that the destruction of Hubert Walter's chapel, in obedience to papal commands, was after all only partially carried out, possibly limited to the removal of the roof, and that the services had since been conducted in a half-dismantled building which was now put into a proper condition for the new Archbishop from Italy? To this course the Pope was unlikely to raise any objection.

In any event it seems clear that the chapel owes much of its existing character to King Henry III, an opinion strengthened by its many points of resemblance to the Temple Church, and that Boniface had nothing to do with a re-construction which was completed by royal command before his arrival in England.

The chapel as it stands to-day, little altered in essentials, is of the collegiate type, the aisle-less choir being separated by a wooden screen—the existing one was erected by Archbishop Laud—from an ante-chapel or narthex. The material is firestone, intermingled externally, as a recent writer has shown, with "the blood-red conglomerate called pudding-stone," imperishable as flint and perhaps shipped in barge-

[1] *Cal of Pat. Rolls*, vol. 1232-47, p. 285.

[2] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, vol. 1242-47, p. 173, etc.

loads from Essex, where it is employed in many churches of the period.[1]

The wall-spaces are reduced to a minimum by the insertion of the lovely series of slender lancet-windows, divided by Purbeck columns, quintuplets to east and west, triplets elsewhere; Chichele's Tower now blocks the western group. These lancets strikingly resemble the triplets in the aisled choir of the Temple Church, consecrated in 1240, where also, as we have seen, Edward son of Odo had some share in the building. The roof of Lambeth chapel (apparently the curtain-arches and buttresses on the north wall represent the cloister that once stood there) was at first ceiled and so remained until the introduction by Blore of artificial groining after some six hundred years had passed. "No aumbry, piscina, or image-niche now appears in the chapel,"[2] but during the alterations early in the nineteenth century, half of a piscina with Early English moulding was found buried on the north side, and a drawing of it has been preserved.[3] King Henry's foresight was not confined to the chapel; the *sede vacante* custodians Bartholomew Pechie and William Hardel were ordered also to look to the repair of certain columns which had fallen down and of the private chamber within the manor-house; the cost, as the King was assured by his legal advisers, might be charged to the Archbishop elect.[4] Boniface apparently found the King's preparations incomplete, for in 1262 a Bull of Urban IV granted him a fourth part of the offerings at Becket's Shrine, and permitted him to expend this money on the repair or re-building of his ancient edifices at Lambeth. Boniface was probably by this means enabled to complete the Great Hall which Hubert Walter is believed to have begun. It was a building 168 feet long, 64 feet broad and 40 feet high, with a flat roof of lead; within was a

[1] P. M. Johnston, *Crypt and Chapel of Lambeth Palace*, Surrey Archæol. Collns., vol. xxxii (1919), p. 144.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

[3] See Scrapbook at the palace.

[4] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, vol. 1242-47, p. 153 (1244). At the same time a chimney-piece and windows were to be made "in camera regine" at the Archbishop's residence in Canterbury.

double row of columns.[1] There seems no reason to connect Urban's Bull, as some have done, with any form of atonement required of the Archbishop for the attack on the sub-prior of St. Bartholomew, which had taken place twelve years earlier ; it was indeed the pilgrims to Canterbury, and not Boniface, who were paying the price of improvements to his manor-house. On the contrary, the Bull hints darkly that his predecessors, during the past forty years, had carried out their works on borrowed money, and it is to the credit of Boniface that he actually cleared the see of a debt amounting to 2,000 marks incurred by Archbishops Stephen, Richard and Edmund.[2]

It may be convenient to complete here the record of work upon the chapel-fabric in the thirteenth century.

During the brief episcopate of Robert Kilwardby, the consecration of Bishop John de Chishull is the first known to have taken place in the newly restored building.[3] Kilwardby's successor, the Franciscan John Pecham, found it again in need of reparation. In the winter of 1280 Pecham appointed Henry le Waleys (either the Mayor of London of that name or his son) " to the custody of his buildings in Lambeth, during the repairs he proposes to make in his chapel there," and granted him " to keep the said buildings until the completion of such repairs," in case the archbishopric became void in the meantime.[4]

(iii) BONIFACE AT LAMBETH

Boniface, 1245-73.—Archbishop Boniface, the Queen's uncle, a handsome young Savoyard, the cadet of an impecun-

[1] Ducarel, p. 11.

[2] Godwin, *Praesul*, p. 96. Trouble arose in 1276 between Master Richard de Clifford (during the vacancy 'keeper' of the archbishopric) and the Barons of the Exchequer about a sum of £119 which de Clifford alleged he had paid over to Boniface's successor " for the amendment of the houses of the archbishopric." *Cal. of Close Rolls*, vol. 1272-79, p. 266 (1276).

[3] *Hist. MSS. Comm., Various Collections*, vol. i, p. 24.

[4] *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, vol. 1272-1281, p. 421 (1280).

ious family, brought with him from Italy standards of conduct foreign and altogether distasteful to English ideas. His followers robbed and pillaged unrestrained like any bandit horde, and his own violence of speech and action was the more shocking in an office held with such great dignity and piety by his predecessors. The events of his wild youth, while they belong to that inglorious record of the court of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence, and of the anarchic rule of foreigners " ignorant and contemptuous of the principles of English government and English law," [1] fill incidentally a page of Lambeth history. A few months after his consecration, he came to London from Canterbury, and instead of occupying his own house, borrowed perforce the residence of the Bishop of Chichester, where Lincoln's Inn now stands. His unwillingness to make Lambeth ready for habitation was taken as an indication that he meant to reside abroad.

From the Bishop's house he went, fully armed, to St. Bartholomew's Priory, and upon the canons refusing to receive him as their visitor, did not hesitate to attack the person of the sub-prior. The citizens of London thereupon rose in their wrath and threatened to hew the Archbishop in pieces. Boniface, having no inclination for martyrdom, fled in secret across the river to Lambeth, where, secure in the protection of his royal kinsfolk, he made the chapel-walls ring with scornful denunciation of the canons and of their ally the Bishop of London who had offered him defiance.[2] Two years later occurred another lawless scene, equally typical of those unhappy times, although Boniface was himself abroad. At the instigation of the Poitevin adventurer, Aymer de Lusignan, son of Queen Isabel by her second marriage and the King's half-brother, whom Henry had thrust into the bishopric of Winchester, an armed band broke open the doors of Lambeth house and chapel, seized the priest at the altar and laid violent hands on the Archbishop's official, Eustace of Lynn. Eustace had ejected from the

[1] Green, *Short History* (1893), p. 274.

[2] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, vol. v, pp. 120 *et seq.* (Rolls 57).

priory of Southwark a protégé of Aymer's who had been illegally installed. For this offence the old man was set bareheaded on horseback and dragged ignominiously by the reins from Lambeth to Farnham, where Aymer dared not detain him and he found a refuge with the monks of Waverley Abbey.[1]

(iv) ARCHBISHOP PECHAM, THE FRANCISCAN

Robert Kilwardby, 1273-79 ; *John Pecham*, 1279-94.—The primacy of the Dominican, Robert Kilwardby, who became a cardinal, supplies no incident for Lambeth history. The events of Pecham's day indicate, by contrast with what had gone before, the revival of law and order in England, whether in church or state, during the reign of Edward I.

1281.—The famous disciplinary constitutions of Otto, and Ottobon, Cardinals and Papal Legates, first enacted in St. Paul's, 1268, together with those Boniface had put forward at Lambeth in 1261, were re-affirmed and commended to the general observance at a Council held at the manor.[2] During the proceedings a message was received from the King warning the assembly of clergy against any attempt to limit the royal prerogative.[3] Later in the reign, when efforts were being made to purify the administration of justice, Pecham appears at Lambeth about the business of Sir Thomas de Weyland,[4] the Chief Justice of the Common Bench, who, under charge of homicide, had concealed himself among the Franciscans at Bury St. Edmunds and taken their habit.[5] Pecham wrote from his manor to intercede with the King's officers for the friars, their loyalty being suspect because they had given sanctuary to the unjust judge.[6] Pecham's

[1] Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, vol. v, p. 350. Cf. vol. vi, p. 223, Additamenta.

[2] Walsingham, vol. i, p. 20, and Johnson, *Canons of the Church of England* (1851), p. 272.

[3] *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, vol. 1272-81, p. 457 (1281).

[4] *Hist. MSS. Comm., Various Collections*, p. 257.

[5] *Annales de Dunstaplia*, Ann. Mon., vol. iii, p. 355 (Rolls 36).

[6] Peckham, *Register*, vol. iii, p. 968 (Rolls 77).

position as a member of a religious order, no less than his own domineering irritable temper, made him out of sympathy with the tendency of the age, which was undoubtedly to encourage the English Church to become a national church and to check its growing dependence upon Rome. This was the secret of his deplorable quarrel with his former friend and fellow-student at the University of Paris, Thomas de Cantelupe, Bishop of Hereford. Cantelupe rightly upheld the action of his official, Robert le Wyse, against certain claims of the court of Canterbury, and Pecham, annoyed at his opposition, summoned the aged bishop to Lambeth, where a formal warning was read in his presence by Robert de Lacy, that if he declined to obey the Archbishop's mandate he was then and there under sentence of excommunication.[1] The real objection to Pecham's high-handed courses, an objection upheld by his suffragans against him, was "that the Primacy—like the Papacy itself, which they could not mention—was converting its court into one of primary instance for the whole Province." A month after this unhappy scene Cantelupe died at Montefiascone in Italy; his bones were brought back for burial in his own cathedral, where his tomb became a place of devout pilgrimage, and stories grew up of Pecham's punishment in his last years for his vindictive action towards the saintly bishop.[2]

January, 1282.—As more worthy of a disciple of St. Francis, we may remember Pecham's care for the welfare of his tenants and poorer neighbours at Lambeth. He caused enquiry to be made about their molestation by servants of the Abbot of Westminster, as they went their way peaceably to and fro over the Thames,[3] and interceded on their behalf with Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, a neighbouring landowner, who threatened them with punishment for the death of a clerk of his house-

[1] Peckham, *Register*, vol. i, p. 300.

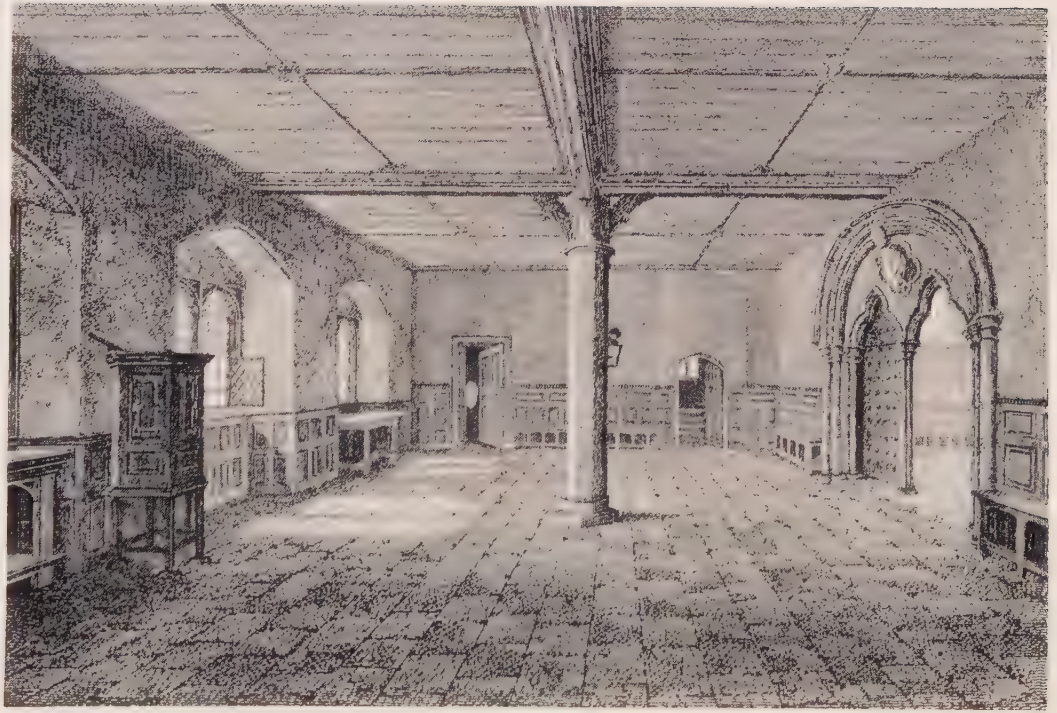
[2] *Reg. of T. de Cantelupe*, Cant. and York. Soc., Dio. Hereford, pp. xlix. *et seq.*

[3] Peckham, *Register*, vol. i, p. 283.

hold, one Nicholas de Brainford.[1] The real culprit was later discovered to be no man of Lambeth, but Henry de Waleworth, detained in Guildford prison.[2] The enquiry was held before Henry le Waleys, Mayor of London, at one time Pecham's custodian and foreman of the works.

[1] Peckham, *Register*, vol. ii, p. 416.

[2] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, vol. 1281-92. p. 94 (1283).



LAMBETH PALACE. THE POST ROOM.

Shewing the west door of the Chapel and doors of access to the Lollards' Tower and the Burial Ground. From a drawing by F. Nash, engraved by B. Howlett in Brayley and Herbert's Lambeth Palace Illustrated.

CHAPTER III

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

(i) THE COUNTRY MANOR-HOUSES

In studying the history of the manor-house at Lambeth, the reader is constantly reminded that throughout the middle ages it was far from being the only or even the principal residence of the Archbishops of Canterbury ; it was but one among numerous manor-houses in the possession of the see. The necessity for a multiplicity of ' lodges ' scattered up and down the home-counties—thirteen in Kent alone, three in Sussex, three in Surrey—is readily understood. The slowness of travel—the journey from Lambeth to Canterbury alone occupied a week—the cumbrous movements of the great company which, as custom required, travelled with so prominent an ecclesiastic ; the variety of affairs, secular as well as ecclesiastical—not only the need of a night's rest —which detained the Archbishop at each halting-place ; all these were factors in determining the number and the situation of the primatial manor-houses. Lambeth was in the nature of things the principal house, adjacent to the King's palace and the parliament. But it was not the favourite, or indeed the most agreeable of the residences.

If the great river swept past, in all the majesty of its shining stream, bringing fresh airs with every inward tide, at low water the exposure of great banks of mud made an unattractive feature in each day's round. The country manors were aesthetically and from the standpoint of health far more desirable. Stephen Langton delighted in his house at Slyndon, between Arundel and Chichester, near the

Sussex coast ; Courtenay, with the fate of Sudbury still in his mind, preferred the stronghold of Saltwood ; Aldington was a chosen retreat of Cardinal Morton ; the names of Chichele, Stafford and Kempe, a man of Kent, are linked with Charing Manor ; Winchelsey died at Otford, and there too was the ' Tiburine Villa ' of the scholarly Warham. Bourchier developed the beauties of Knole : Abbot, in his season of disgrace, withdrew to Ford, in the neighbourhood of Reculver. Cranmer preferred Bekesbourne, with its well-stocked deer-park, and Matthew Parker constantly made it a healthful retreat for his great household from the plague-stricken neighbourhood of Lambeth.[1]

(ii) THE MANOR HOUSE AT LAMBETH IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The court roll of Archbishop Reynolds' date (1322) shows that considerable extensions had taken place in the manor-house since the time of Archbishop Edmund, and that Lambeth was now provided with the assembly and other public rooms essential for an archiepiscopal residence.[2]

Boniface had built a fine hall ; there were now also a great chamber (magna camera domini), another chapel or oratory, in addition to the great chapel, and an almonry. Officials of the diocese and of the household had their allotted apartments : we hear of the chancellor's chamber and the steward's chamber, while certain " brothers," who may have been the canons of the original foundation, occupied quarters of their own.[3] There were numerous domestic offices, kitchen, bakehouse, storehouse, a long stable of many stalls, a poultry house and so forth.

The most interesting of these rooms is the Magna Camera Domini or Great Chamber which, until the sixteenth century,

[1] For an account of the old palaces of the primacy see Cave-Browne, Supplementary Chapter.

[2] The details in this chapter are chiefly drawn from Lambeth Court Roll No. 573 (15 and 16 Ed. II).

[3] *E.g.* " garderobe pro fratribus."

was constantly in use for important official or social gatherings. We may assume, from the arrangement of the guttering and of a parclos or dividing screen, mentioned in the accounts, that this room was in the neighbourhood of the chapel and eastward of it. It almost certainly occupied the northern façade of the manor-house (which little by little was built out to the east from the chapel), and its windows looked out over the Archbishop's garden. A small ante-chamber separated it from the presence chamber on the south side: this was a " noble " room, 30 feet long by 19 feet wide. In the windows, for many generations, was old stained glass, including representations of St. Jerome and St. Gregory, with descriptive verses, and of a sun-dial. We hear in Laud's time of the chimney-piece being painted, " layd twice in a faire blue," at a cost of 8/-. My lord's bedchamber and his study were adjacent to the Magna Camera, and, a little later, an oratory was also built at the extreme east end.

These arrangements were, as we shall discover, superseded in the sixteenth century by Archbishop Cranmer and Cardinal Pole, and the name of great chamber was then adopted for the guard room.[1]

The inner courtyard was entered by a great gate, probably on or adjacent to the site of Morton's Tower. This gate had evidently stood for years and may have formed the entrance of the original manor-house; an oak-tree growing in " Many Grove " was at one time felled and sawn up to provide props for it.

The mill, a legacy from the monks of Rochester, stood near a postern-gate, probably at the northern end of the property, where it was strongly fenced. A little bridge crossed the inlet of the Thames which supplied the water-power and there was a bridge-aqueduct over the quay of the mill. Another of the oaks in Many Grove was sawn up to supply boards for mending the " melle baie," the bay or dam which controlled the mill-stream.

The garden at all times in the history of Lambeth was a

[1] *Infra*, p. 103.

centre of interest. In Reynolds' day, part of the wall round the " Great Garden " was newly built and thatched with reeds. This suggests that the large square enclosure which appears in seventeenth century engravings may have been already laid out in the fourteenth century. A good wall for the flower garden was a necessity, for somewhere close at hand was the rabbit garden, protected by a thick hedge. By order of my lord, two gallons of flowering seed (*seminis florati*) was bought for the garden-beds, costing 2s. 8d. The list of vegetable seeds included :

olearum	iii d	Tonncressis			i d
fletrocilii	xviij d	Caboche			ii d
shervil	i d	Concomber & Gourds			ij d
clarey	i d	Isope			vi d
littuse	iij d	Bourage			—
spynhach	iiij d	Centurrage			—

The name of Reynolds' gardener was Roger, and by my lord's order he was allowed a labourer, for eight days, at 2d. a day, to dig the garden, and a boy, to help him bed out the flowering plants, for three days at 1d. a day. He was also provided with a large iron spade (vanga), price 6d. In the fifteenth century vines were grown in the archbishop's garden.[1]

The low-lying marsh land which occupied so large a part of the estate required careful draining to make it fit for agricultural purposes and the cleansing of the intersecting ditches is a recurrent expense. They are distinguished by names such as " Redepondich " and " Merdeldich " ; the latter is evidently of very ancient origin and may well go back to Saxon times. [2]

(iii) THE TIMES OF ARCHBISHOP REYNOLDS (1313-1328)

Robert de Winchelsey, 1294-1313.—Among other historic associations the memory of Lambeth hospitalities holds a foremost place. The typical host of the middle ages and

[1] Lambeth Court Roll No. 555.

[2] Cf. old English *mǣr dic* : boundary ditch : *mǣrdǣl dīc* might imply the ditch in part a boundary.

his feasting, so bounteous, so extravagant, are well represented by Archbishop Robert de Winchelsey, and the mighty banquets which he spread between the columns of the Great Hall. " Prodigious his hospitality," says Fuller, writing of him as a Sussex worthy, " being reported that Sundays and Fridays he fed no fewer than 4,000 men when corn was cheap, and 5,000 when it was dear." [1] Of all others, it was said, he had most compassion for those who had fallen from wealth to poor estate.[2] Gestures so magnificent implied a considerable surplus of provision ; this from time immemorial, under the name of the ' Lambeth Dole,' was regularly distributed among the beggars crowding at the gate ; Ducarel (p. 31) says that in his day the dole was regulated and consisted of fifteen quartern loaves, nine stone of beef and five shillings' worth of halfpence. These were divided into three equal portions and distributed thrice weekly, each portion to ten indigent persons. The beef was made into broth, thickened with oatmeal, and a pitcher of it, with half a loaf and two pence, given to each applicant. When the great feasts and the " public days " were abandoned by Archbishop Howley about 1842, after a severe illness, and the dining hall became a library, a sum of £200 a year was set aside to be given in weekly pensions, as a monetary compensation for the loss of the " broken meats." [3]

But if under Winchelsey Lambeth abounded with the sense of good-fellowship, under the primacy of Walter Reynolds it witnessed scenes little honourable to its traditions. Reynolds himself occupied high office in the State as well as in the Church ; on January 16, 1314, " the Saturday before St. Hilary . . . after dinner," the arrival of the Great Seal at Lambeth betokened the Archbishop's appointment as Chancellor of the realm.[4] The country had lapsed into a

[1] *Fuller's Worthies* (1662), *Sussex*, p. 101.

[2] Brayley and Herbert, *Lambeth Palace Illus.*, p. 71.

[3] Benjamin Harrison, *The Remembrance of a Departed Guide* (1848), p. 20.

[4] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, vol. 1313-18, p. 87 (1314).

condition of miserable unrest under the misgovernment of Edward II, and neither as a public servant nor as a churchman, nor indeed in the management of his own affairs, did the Primate play a creditable part.

In 1323 disorderly scenes occurred on the river boundary of the estate : Reynolds' steward and others of his household assaulted Thomas de Hethe, a kinsman of Haymo de Hethe, Bishop of Rochester, and tried unsuccessfully to destroy the bars on the Thames' wall which indicated the route for the Bishop's carriages to take from the riverside to his house.[1]

Reynolds himself was engaged about this time in a dispute of more moment, affecting the dignity of his see, namely the claim of the Archbishop of York to bear his Cross within the province of Canterbury. On this business many posts travelled between Lambeth and the convent of Christchurch, and two of Eastry's monks, Geoffrey de Poterel, who acted as Reynolds' proctor, and another brother " sufficient unto this affair," being hastily summoned from Canterbury, arrived at the gates bearing with them sundry chronicles and rolls of memoranda.[2] To Prior Eastry, in the calm of his monastic house, Reynolds wrote from Lambeth, horror-stricken, of the murder of the Bishop of Exeter by a London mob, and yet again to explain, and if it might be, excuse the cowardice of his own behaviour. For on the eve of the murder there had occurred in the Great Hall a meeting of dishonoured memory. In view of the approach of Queen Isabella's forces, the assembled bishops had tried vainly to induce any one of their number to go in person and open negotiations with Edward II and his queen. Next day the Bishop of Rochester, seated in his chamber at La Place,

[1] This was in fact but one manifestation of an ancient quarrel ; when Bishop Glanville made his original bargain with Hubert Walter he failed to secure the right of access to La Place over the archbishop's property ; the dispute was finally set at rest in 1357, when Simon Islip granted his then brother of Rochester permission to make a bridge at a place called Stangate, a name dating from ancient times. Ducarel, p. 79, and Manning and Bray, *Surrey*, vol. iii, p. 477. The name still survives in Stangate Street.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Comm., Various Collections*, vol. i, p. 271.

heard a great noise and trampling of horses' feet past the house, and on enquiring what it might mean, he learned that Reynolds and all his following had quitted Lambeth and were in full flight towards Kent ; " for he feared the Queen," adds the chronicler significantly, " more than he feared the King of Heaven." [1]

(iv) ARCHBISHOP STRATFORD AS CHANCELLOR

Simon Mepham, 1328-1333.—It would clearly be impossible to touch upon the innumerable gatherings, of greater and lesser importance, of which, through the ages, the archbishops' manor-house was the scene. Occasionally some transaction of historic interest, or the presence of some historic personage, calls for special comment ; for instance, at the meeting of Convocation in 1330, during the primacy of Mepham, among the King's representatives were Simon de Swanlond, Mayor of London, and John de Stonor, a prominent member of a family made known to many readers by the publication of the Stonor Letters.[2]

The custom of mediaeval England so constantly favoured the appointment of prominent ecclesiastics to high offices of state that it is not surprising to find the names of many Archbishops of Canterbury on the roll of Chancellors, and numerous writs issuing from their manor of Lambeth.

John Stratford, 1333-49.—The appointment of John Stratford, which is related in somewhat full and picturesque detail, may be taken as a typical instance of this time-honoured practice. In the office of Chancellor Stratford succeeded Richard, Bishop of London, who died at midnight on December 8, 1339, in the Bishop of Winchester's town house. Next day, at sunrise, the Great Seal was brought in a bag to the Archbishop at Lambeth ; he was not yet nominated to the Chancellorship and may have been expected, as Archbishop, to appoint a guardian for the seal *pro tem.* He at once sent it on to a temporary resting-place at the Carmelites in Fleet Street, in the custody of Sir

[1] *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i, p. 366. [2] *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, vol. 1327-30, p. 509.

John de St. Pol, Keeper of the Chancery Rolls.[1] The vacancy continued until the following April : on the Friday after St. Mark's Day, the seal in its bag reappeared, in " La Blaunche Chaumbre " of the palace of Westminster. There the King received it, carried it in his hand into a small room adjoining, and at length delivered it to the newly-appointed Chancellor.[2] The Archbishop took the necessary oath, conveyed the seal home with him, and " on the morrow caused charters, letters patents and writs to be sealed therewith in his chamber at Lambeheth." He bore the responsibility for two months only. On the 20th of June, about the hour of vespers, he visited the King in a vessel called " La cogge Thomas," anchored in the port of Orwell, where the fleet awaited the royal passage overseas, and " pretending that he could no longer travail in that office on account of bodily infirmity " he delivered up the token of his authority. The seal was at once drawn from its bag and broken in Stratford's presence. A few days later a roll of linen cloth, enwrapping the new seal, was opened before him in his chamber at Lambeth, preparatory to its bestowal on his successor, the Bishop of Chichester.[3]

Other emblems of state besides the seal occasionally found their way to Lambeth. On the 29th of March, 1345, one of the King's five crowns, namely the ' Magna Corona ' or great crown, was taken from its ' hutch ' in the Treasury in the cloister of Westminster, now known as the Chapel of the Pyx, and by the Treasurer and the Chamberlain delivered, at the royal command, to Archbishop Stratford in his chamber, in the presence of Bartholomew de Burghersh and Master John de Thoresby. At Lambeth the crown remained till April 1st, 1346. During that year no doubt King Edward III visited the manor for reasons of state and donned his regalia.[4] He was certainly there upon one very interesting errand in May, 1345, for (again in the Archbishop's

[1] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, vol. 1339-41, p. 339 (1340).
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 467. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 482.
[4] *Antient Kalendars and Inventories*, vol. i, p. 160.

chamber) he received the homage of John de Montfort, Duke of Brittany. On this occasion also Bartholomew de Burghersh and Master John de Thoresby, keeper of the chancery rolls, were spectators of the ceremony.[1]

During Archbishop Simon Langham's term of office as Chancellor the clerks of the Chancery of the first bench purchased a barge to convey them to and fro across the Thames to Lambeth, at a cost of £16 including repairs and the barge-keeper's wages for a year (1367).[2]

(v) THE BLACK DEATH AND ITS SEQUEL

Thomas Bradwardine, 1349.—England was now visited by the Black Death, that fell pestilence which swept through the land, finding a prey in every rank of society. Among the victims was the learned Bradwardine, ' Doctor Profundus,' but recently called to the primacy, who died not at his own house, of which indeed he had scarcely taken possession, but at La Place. The general upheaval caused by the plague and the lawlessness which resulted from an overwhelming sense of the uncertainty of life, was manifest among the clergy no less than the lay people. Archbishop Simon Islip (1349-1366) held a council at Lambeth " to oppose the encroachments of secular judges, who violated the privileges of the clergy, and sentenced to death clerks guilty of heavy crimes," and another when a constitution was enacted condemning the idleness and avarice of priests and fixing the remuneration of chaplains and curates having cure of souls.[3] These details take on the colour of life when we recall that what Lambeth was officially condemning, was finding almost at the same moment an accuser in the person of William Langland, the poet of the Malvern Hills ; parsons and parish priests, he said, complain to their bishops that their parishes have been poor since the pestilence, and ask leave to live in London, to sing masses there for simony, for silver is sweet. Arch-

[1] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, vol. 1343-1346, p. 569 (1345).
[2] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, vol. 1364-68, p. 335 (1367).
[3] Loudon, *Councils of the Holy Catholic Church*, p. 280.

deacons and deacons, who hold that dignity in order to preach to the people and feed poor men, ' lope ' to London to be clerks of the King's Bench and there pillage the country. And he adds :

" But [except] holy chirche biginne holde bet [hold better] togedere
The moste Mischeef on molde [earth] mounteth up faste." [1]

Simon Langham, 1366-8.—During the primacy of Simon Langham, Islip's nephew, we read, with a sense of incongruity, that, despite the distress of the times, the most famous of the long series of banquets to celebrate the consecration of a new bishop was held in the Great Hall, in honour of the Archbishop's friend and protégé, William of Wykeham, whom he had just consecrated Bishop of Winchester in St. Paul's Cathedral.[2]

William Wyttelsey, 1368-75.—On April 24, 1373, an obit of the Countess of Arundel was held probably in Archbishop Wyttelsey's Chapel ; it was attended by John of Gaunt, (' time-honour'd Lancaster '), who notes in his accounts the payment to " estrange bargemen " of " trois sould et quatre deneres " on his return journey to the Savoy after the service.[3] This is the first mention in Lambeth history of a family which, in a few years, was to be closely and tragically associated with it. Wyttelsey was at this date in a very infirm state of health. Later in the same year he preached before the Synod assembled in St. Paul's, announcing in a clear voice his text, ' Veritas liberavit nos ' ; but it was the last effort of a failing man. He was compelled to leave the assembly to the direction of Courtenay, Bishop of London, and was rowed back in his barge to Lambeth, where he died after many months of sickness ; he was buried at Canterbury, between two pillars of the south nave arcade.

[1] Morris and Skeat, *Specimens of Early English*, vol. ii, pp. 178-9. The date of text A is approximately 1362.

[2] Hook, vol. iv, p. 199 (1367).

[3] John of Gaunt's Register (Cam. Soc., vol. xxi), p. 155.

(vi) WICLIF AND ARCHBISHOP SIMON OF SUDBURY

The primacy of Simon Sudbury (1375-1381) fell during such troublous days both for the church and for the country at large that great part of his time was spent in the capital, and his manor-house became a centre of tragic interest. Those were the days when the teaching of Wiclif and his followers was bringing a new vision into the spiritual life of England, and growing anxiety into the minds of all who held feverishly by the old order. Already, in 1368, Archbishop Simon Langham had summoned a council at Lambeth at which " thirty erroneous propositions " were condemned :[1] now, ten years later, John Wiclif was called to defend propositions " clearly heretical and depraved " before Archbishop Sudbury and Courtenay, Bishop of London, sitting in the Great Chapel as Commissioners of the Papacy. Just before the proceedings began, a messenger, Sir Lewis Clifford, arrived from the Queen-Mother ; the widowed Joan of Kent, stirred, it may be, by the memory of her husband the Black Prince's awakening interest in Church reform no less than by her own reverence for a teacher of force and courage, had sent post-haste to forbid the bishops to take decided measures against their prisoner. While the deliberations were still scarcely begun, came a more vociferous interruption : a mob of London citizens, followers of the master, broke pell-mell, " impudently," says the historian, into the chapel and brought discussion to a standstill.[2]

June 1381.—These events added fuel to the blind hatred of the populace for the Chancellor-Archbishop. Before three years had passed, they were again storming the gates of Lambeth, denouncing its master as a traitor and calling for his life-blood. So threatening was their attitude that Sudbury hurriedly crossed the water to the royal palace of Westminster, and later joined the young king at the Tower

[1] Loudon, *loc. cit.*, p. 280.

[2] Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*, vol. i, p. 356 (Rolls 28) ; cf. Trevelyan, *Age of Wiclif*, pp. 85-6.

of London, while his house was given over to a ruthless pillage.

During these uprisings, ancient records, the evidence in ignorant eyes of centuries of tyranny, were everywhere the first objects of popular fury—at Lambeth books and charters and other documents were burnt and destroyed. Next the invaders dragged out the wine-casks, draining them and pouring the dregs upon the ground, and broke to fragments the vessels in the Archbishop's kitchen, shouting all the while in a half-drunken frenzy " A Revell, A Revell."[1] Fortunately the loose quires of Sudbury's Register escaped destruction and it is still preserved in the Lambeth archives.[2]

(vii) COURTENAY AND THE PRIMATIAL CROSS.

William Courtenay, 1381-97.—After the shouting and confusion had died down, when Sudbury had met an agonising death on Tower Hill and Courtenay came to reign in his stead, one can well appreciate the need for his ' bestowing much ' in the repair as well as the enlargement of his manor-house. It is possible that he built the Guard Room as well as the wing containing the domestic offices. There was much wreckage in the kitchens during Sudbury's time, and the ' Camera Armigerorum ' was certainly in existence near the beginning of Chichele's primacy.[3] Soon after Courtenay's consecration there arrived at Lambeth a certain monk of Canterbury sent by the prior and convent, according to ancient precedent, to invest the new Primate with the archiepiscopal cross. It was presented to him as he sat in his chapel, with stately words hallowed by long usage and no doubt laboriously conned by the spokesman ; " Reverend father, I am the messenger of the High King who bids you, aye commands you, to take on you the governance of His church, to love and protect her. In token of whose commission I place in your hand a standard of the King of

[1] Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. ix, pp. 1-2 (Rolls 41).

[2] Ducarel, p. 13, and information from the Lambeth librarian.

[3] It occurs in the Lambeth Court Roll No. 549 for 1424-5.

Heaven." Unfortunately Courtenay's mind was all the time pre-occupied, sorely vexed on a point of ecclesiastical etiquette: was it suitable that he should carry the cross when as yet he had not been invested with the pallium? The matter was of importance, because he had shortly to celebrate the marriage of Richard II with Anne of Bohemia, and to crown the queen, an occasion when it behoved him to appear in the full dignity of his office. In perplexity he referred the question to the Prior and monks of Christchurch, who assured him that the custom of Canterbury fully justified the use of the cross without the pallium and that he could fall under no suspicion of contempt for Rome.[1] Nevertheless the royal marriage was actually celebrated by Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London.[2] If Courtenay lacked a pall, Braybroke had only been consecrated for thirteen days. It was, however, the Archbishop who crowned Queen Anne.

1382.—Courtenay, who as Bishop of London had sat beside Sudbury at the trial of John Wiclif, is closely associated in the popular mind with the beginnings of Lollard persecution; one June morning his commissary, Dr. Peter Stokes, who had gone to Oxford to publish the Acta of the Synod condemning Wiclif's doctrines, after riding hurriedly a day's journey, returned to Lambeth to relate his experiences,—his ill-fated disputation with the Wiclifite Repyngdon, his intimidation in the Schools by twelve armed men—and, if it might be, to excuse himself for having, under fear of death, failed to carry out the Primate's commission.[3]

(viii) RICHARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL, AND ARCHBISHOP THOMAS ARUNDEL

Thomas Arundel, 1397-1414.—Richard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and his brother, Archbishop Thomas Arundel are the actors in a particularly dramatic episode of Lambeth

[1] Parker, *De Ant. Brit. Eccl.*, p. 398.

[2] Ramsay, *The Genesis of Lancaster*, vol. ii, p. 18.

[3] Fasc. Zizan., pp. 302, 304 (Rolls 5).

history. The reign of Richard II was embittered by the fierce personal conflicts which he waged with nobles of his court. Chief of these was the turbulent Earl Richard, a popular hero no less on account of his brilliant victories at sea than for the generosity with which he refused any personal share in the booty his prowess had won ; for a whole year, says Froissart, wine was cheap in England and dear in the Netherlands, because of the cargoes, Flemish, French and Spanish, which Arundel had captured, yet not so much as a cask would he take for himself.[1] Throughout the reign Arundel steadily pursued a policy of enmity to Richard, and to the King's evil associates, by whom he was at once feared and hated. In 1394 came a lull in hostilities ; the Earl for a time withdrew from Court but only to be recalled for the last act in his tragedy. Queen Anne died at Shene on June 7th ; Richard, who mourned her in wild transports of grief, cursing the place of her death, even levelling the buildings to the ground, postponed the funeral until the 3rd of August that it might be carried out with the utmost magnificence. The nobles were required to be in London five days beforehand, in readiness to attend the corpse from Shene to Westminster, but with a haughty disregard of the royal wishes, Arundel left his place in the sad cortège empty, and arriving late was the first to ask permission for urgent reasons to leave the Abbey. The King, half-mad with sorrow, and exasperated beyond all control, snatched a cane from an usher, and struck the Earl violently on the head, so that he fell bleeding to the ground and the solemn place and hour were desecrated. The same day he issued commands for Arundel's arrest and imprisonment in the Tower. These events were the preamble to a strange gathering which took place a week later, when the order for Arundel's liberation had already been signed, " in a little chamber in the manor or *inn*[2] of William, Archbishop of Canterbury, by the withdrawing chamber of the principal chamber thereof."

[1] Cf. Walsingham, *Hist. Anglic.*, vol. ii, p. 155 (Rolls 28).

[2] " Inn " is here used in the old sense of a dwelling-house.

Richard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, appeared in person before King Richard II, and " made oath upon a book for his good behaviour henceforward, and that he shall make no riots or unlawful assemblies against the king, to the disturbance of the peace." Thomas, Archbishop of York, the Earl's brother ; the Earl Marshal, Thomas Moubray, Earl of Nottingham, his son-in-law ; Roger, Earl of March and Ulster ; and the Earls of Warwick and Oxford, who, with many another knight, were present in the room, stood sureties for Lord Arundel in the enormous sum of £40,000,[1] and he received pardon of all his political offences. This patching-up of a quarrel with far-reaching entanglements could be but temporary. Two years later Courtenay died, and the vacant primacy was filled by the translation of Thomas Arundel from the see of York. He was now to be made by Richard II the tool of his brother's ruin and death. The King, with many protestations of friendly intent, again summoned Earl Richard to a banquet at court, but failed to draw him from his stronghold at Reigate and the safe proximity of his armed retainers. The Archbishop was then induced—all unwillingly—to second the King's request and to assure the Earl of a safe-conduct. He succeeded only too well. Arundel arrived at Lambeth, and accompanied the Archbishop to the King's presence, when, without warning, he was seized and imprisoned. Among his accusers, suborned by the King himself, was Thomas Moubray, the Earl Marshal. The charter of pardon granted at Lambeth was annulled, and Arundel was condemned to the scaffold, where his gallant bearing at the last was worthy of him as he had lived ; " he blanched no more than if he had been summoned to a feast." The people who had revered him in life, in death venerated him as a martyr, made pilgrimage to his tomb in the Austin Friars in London, and spread abroad the legend that his head would be found re-united to his body.[2] In self-defence Richard ordered the tomb to be destroyed

[1] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, vol. 1392-96, p. 368 (1394).

[2] Walsingham, *Hist. Anglic.*, vol. ii, pp. 225 *et seq.* (Rolls 28).

and the corpse removed for secret burial. Meantime Thomas Arundel was saved from a like fate only by virtue of his sacred office. He received sentence of lifelong banishment for alleged complicity in a plot against the throne, but delayed his going because, as he said, here in England he had been born and here he wished to die. As he sat absorbed in sad thoughts in his chamber at Lambeth, the King, accompanied by the Duke of Lancaster, came in to visit him. Characteristically he plied the broken man with fair words, bidding him cease mourning, for his absence would be but a brief one, and while the King lived, no other should occupy the see of Canterbury.

Even at this moment of defeat Arundel rose to the courage of his house: "Before I go into banishment," he told the king, "I have somewhat to speak with you," and then and there he denounced the luxury of the court, the pride and avarice which were devastating the realm, and with words of prophetic warning on his lips departed overseas on the vigil of St. Michael.[1]

1404.—After his return from exile, yet one more incident in the history of his family took place at Lambeth, when he married in the chapel the son and successor of his ill-fated brother, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, to Beatrice, a natural daughter of the King of Portugal, a magnificent ceremony, held in the presence of Henry IV and his queen, Joan of Navarre.[2]

December, 1411.—In the winter of 1411, Henry IV, at Archbishop Arundel's invitation, occupied the manor-house for a short time 'for its singular quiet.'[3] This was about a year before the King's death.

(ix) ARUNDEL'S NEW ORATORY.

Arundel gave a great feast long remembered at his manor on Thursday, July 26, 1408, to a large and distinguished

[1] *Contin. Eulog. Hist.*, vol. iii, p. 376 (Rolls 9).

[2] Walsingham, *Hist. Anglic.*, vol. ii, p. 272 (Rolls 28).

[3] Arundel's Register, pt. ii, f. 22.

Photograph by Charlton, Canterbury.

EFFIGY OF ARCHBISHOP HENRY CHICHELE, FROM HIS TOMB IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

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company including, it is said, bishops, abbots and priors, the chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, doctors of law and theology, deans of cathedral churches, and many professors, learned in the science of letters.[1]

During his tenure of office he made certain improvements in his house, though the description of them which his register preserves is not easy to interpret. Most probably it implies that Arundel added a private oratory, or chapel, at the eastern end of, and opening out from, the Great Chamber, in his day occupying the northern façade of the manor-house. The new chapel would thus have been adjacent to the orchard. It was built "in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Feast of her Annunciation," and its altar was consecrated and dedicated on the 22nd of December, 1407.[2] Chichele's accounts certainly show that in addition to the Great Chapel there were two oratories, known as 'the Archbishop's Oratory,' and 'the great Oratory'; one of these two was as old as Archbishop Reynolds' time.[3] If Arundel's oratory occupied the site suggested here, it must have been swept away when Cardinal Pole built his long gallery.

[1] Wilkins, *Conc.*, vol. iii, p. 309. [2] Ducarel, p. 25.
[3] Cave-Browne, p. 19.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

(i) CHICHELE'S WORKS.

Henry Chichele, 1414-1443.—Of the few court-rolls which remain at Lambeth the greater number belong to the primacy of Archbishop Chichele, an indefatigable builder. The manor-house as he left it, with the exception of Morton's gateway, was probably little altered until the days of Cranmer and Cardinal Pole.

Chichele's earlier accounts contain many references to the repair and rebuilding of the Great Bridge, or Lambeth Bridge, close to the entrance of the manor. This was not a bridge across the river, for London Bridge alone at this time spanned the Thames, but a quay or landing-stage, for the use of the ferry and other water-craft. It was a substantial structure of timber; two stout iron posts stood at one end, capped with lead; between them hung a heavy chain, which could be secured by lock and key.[1] At the other end were steps leading down to the water.[2] In the fifteenth century a long boundary wall, roofed with rafters, eaves-boards and a miniature thatch, extended northwards from the entrance gate along the river bank, with a public path or roadway between it and the river.[3] A broad ditch or sluice, lined with stout planks and planted with hedges to strengthen the banks, appears to have run back from the river bank into the outer courtyard, opposite the west tower of Lambeth

[1] Lambeth Court Rolls, No. 549 (2-3 Henry VI).

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 568 (17 and 18 Henry VI).

[3] Court Roll, No. 566 (16 and 17 Henry VI).

church. This ditch, to which a flood-gate, secured with an iron bolt and a lock and key and constantly needing repair, apparently belonged, may have been connected with the flow of water into certain ditches or ponds like the Merdeldich and Redepondich of Stafford's time, which drained the low-lying meadows. Ducarel's plan, as late as 1750, shows a sort of moat still surrounding the outlying property and another the inner, the latter being no doubt the ' serpentine canal,' which, planted with gay flowers, was a feature of the garden in Secker's time.[1] A flood-gate would no doubt be necessary to control the inrush of water at high tide, or in rainy seasons, when there was always danger of inundation. The 1750 plan, however, gives these waterways no apparent access to the river, and none is shown in eighteenth century drawings ; by that time they were presumably fed by underground pipes. This mysterious fosse was undoubtedly close to the entrance-gate. The court roll for the year 1429-30 [2] contains a detailed description of how an elm tree, uprooted by a storm of wind, crashed into the ditch, carrying with it timber and tiles from a room, described as ' communis thalamus privatus,' adjacent to the Registry, a low chamber left of the entrance gate. An ' engyn ' with ' poleys ' and a stout rope was brought from London by water to draw the ruins out of the ditch, which was then repaired and the hedge replanted. A number of elms in ' le Rowe Garden '—perhaps the plantation on the west side of the walled garden—were then felled and made into piles which were driven into the fosse ; on these piles a new ' thalamus,' with a floor of elm boards of double thickness, was set up and bolted with two strong iron bolts into the side wall of the Registry. Two stout ' puncheons ' (a framework of short timbers) were hung over the door, which was also made very strongly of elm, ' cum legges ' (ledges). The new chamber thus appears to have been fitted into the space between the Registry and the water's edge. Precise as this description is in some respects, it is not easy to be absolutely sure on which side of

[1] Cf. *infra*, p. 203. [2] Court Roll, No. 555 (7-8 Henry VI).

the gateway, whether north or south, this particular ditch was to be found, and the curious hanging room, with its tiled roof, was erected on piles. The evidence seems to point to the south side, in the outer court, where elm trees grew and a ditch of some kind certainly existed, for we hear of a labourer cleaning it out at the time the Great Bridge was being rebuilt in 1424.[1]

The accident of the falling tree, however, is said to have destroyed part of a wall, in which was a ' water-gate ' to which no reference is made elsewhere. The wall may mean the western boundary wall, dividing the inner courtyard from the river. In this wall a gate is depicted in engravings drawn some 300 years later than the court rolls, but it is not in such close proximity to the entrance-gate as this ' water-gate ' evidently was. On the whole it seems most likely the suspended room was on the south side and the description of it as a ' common ' chamber suggests its possible use to give hospitality to the passing wayfarer.

About this time, possibly by the same falling tree, the cygnets' house, ' domus cigniolorum,' which must have been close to the water, was damaged, for an order was given to repair its ruinous gable.

Lambeth Bridge or quay, which was again rebuilt by Archbishops Parker and Tenison, had many historic associations : there Henry VIII met Cranmer, and Queen Elizabeth met Parker and his attendant archdeacons. The ferry-rights formed part of the manorial revenues, and were let out to tenants at a price. For instance, in 1513, one Humfrey Trevilyan had the monopoly of carrying passengers, " ultra Thamisiam a Lambithe usque bancum Abbatis et Conventus de Westmonasterio." [2] The grant of the lease was subject, in post-Reformation days and probably far earlier, to confirmation by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury : so Dean Turner wrote to William Somner about a new lessee, one Mistress Leventhorp : " You must and will (I doubt it not) take care of the fees. The Gentlewoman will

[1] Court Roll, No. 549. [2] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. IX, App. I, p. 120.

(perhaps) desire to have them remitted, but how that she hath deserved such favour is more than I know."[1] In 1714 the ferry-boat was granted on a lease secured jointly and severally upon two lives ; the tenants strike us as strange yoke-fellows : one was Ambrose Warren of St. James's, Westminster, a mathematician of 63 ; the other, destined probably to outlive him for many decades, was Thomas Ferne, a Norfolk husbandman's sixteen-year-old son.[2]

But to return to the days of Chichele. The possibilities of much variation in the ' lay-out ' of the manor-house are limited by the position of certain permanent features, such as the chapel, the parish church, the river, even the walled garden. There was never any simultaneous re-building until 1829 ; then, too, the public apartments continued to be used from one generation to another, and are so often mentioned in the records that it becomes possible to some extent to determine their position relatively to one another. These facts give plausibility to suggestions which are based on the fragmentary evidence in the court rolls. From the accounts of Chichele's date we are enabled to fill in rather more completely our ground plan of the fifteenth-century house. The Magna Camera, with its lead-covered roof and adjacent oratory and private parlour, bedroom and study for the Archbishop's use ; the Guard Room (Camera Armigerorum), entered from the north-east corner of the Great Hall by a flight of steps, with two chambers above them ;[3] these, together with the chapel, and the Great Cloister (between its south side and the north façade of the ' Aula Magna ') are already in position.

From the Great Chamber, conveniently near to it and to the Great Hall when banquets were in progress, a range of domestic offices, kitchen, scullery and ' dressery ' extended southwards ; somewhere in the south wall of the Chamber

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[2] Acts of D. and C. of Canterbury, 1714. The ferry rights lapsed when Westminster Bridge was built in 1750.

[3] Lambeth Court Roll, No. 568, and cf. Ducarel, p. 84. " Two chambers over the great chamber stayers, etc."

was a buttery hatch, where Sir Thomas More saw the Vicar of Croydon call for refreshments.

Other ranges of buildings, including a bakery, forge or workshop, ' le poltrie ' and ' le pertrichhouse,' and the long roof of the great stable, built originally in the thirteenth century, with the grange adjacent, divided from it by a hedge, helped to form an irregular quadrangle to the south of the main building, surrounding a kitchen garden.

At the south-west corner of the chapel stood the ewery, with the ' Camera Computantis,' the accountant's office, over or adjacent to it ; the ewery very frequently appears in the rolls, because the gutters between it and the chapel required constant repair. It occurs again in a survey of Cardinal Pole's time, in records of Cranmer's day, and also in the reign of James I ; but in the 1647 survey it has disappeared. This was probably because it had been demolished by Archbishop Laud, who erected new brick chambers upon the few remaining of its old stone courses.

The character of the ewery as " a room where ewers of water, table-linen and towels, were kept " is fully borne out by the inventory of its contents made in 1558 after Cardinal Pole's death.

" Eight basons ewere,
Twelve dyaper cloths
Nine plaine cloths
Seven plaine towells
Three dozen and six napkins
Candlesticks twenty and six." [1]

The number of household officers to be accommodated had, by now, considerably increased. Besides the house steward or seneschal there was a ' Senescallus Terrarum,' a registrar, an auditor and an accountant.

Chichele's seneschal, Master John Grene, had a chamber ' iuxta Aulam ' ; this was probably one of the two rooms over the entrance steps. Certain alterations in the Great Hall, made at this time, provided him with better quarters. Originally the hall had had a portico at the south end,

[1] *Dom. S.P. Eliz.*, vol. i, 10, 11 (November 21, 1558).

covered with lead, and a sanded approach.[1] In place of the portico, Chichele built a new arched gateway, leading into the inner court, with a chamber above it, commanding a view of the river, as well as of all who came in at the main entrance : here the seneschal was now lodged. This ' new gate,' as it is called in 1433,[2] was probably the one to be seen in seventeenth-century drawings of the hall, before it was destroyed under the Commonwealth and rebuilt by Archbishop Juxon.

Besides the Magna Camera and the hall, some other large rooms, variously described, now come into prominence. In the ' camera secunda principaliori ' the Archbishop received the profession of Benedict, Bishop of St. David's.[3] The second principal chamber was probably the presence-chamber, a large room situated between the antechamber of the Magna Camera and the Guard Room and often used for important audiences.

1419.—Chichele examined the heretic William Tailour ' in libraria sua ' ; this is the first mention of such an apartment in the manor-house, and is of great interest from its early date. This library was in all likelihood the room over the eastern side of the cloister, which continued to be used for the same purpose till the eighteenth century. A few years later, in Kempe's time, we hear of yet another room, the ' alta camera major,' being used for an official interview.[4] This may refer to the Guard Room, but the expression ' alta camera ' in these rolls usually indicates a chamber on an upper floor. In Chichele's early years the Great Cloister had apparently no upper story : it seems not improbable that by degrees he built above it first the library ; then another ' alta camera ' ; and over the remaining alleys, galleries, one to face the river and one provided with a window looking into the great hall. Soon after Archbishop Stafford's appointment, there was occasion to clear a quantity of ' rubbell ' from the ' Freresgarden ' ;[5] it is conceivable that

[1] Lambeth Court Rolls Nos. 549 and 558.
[2] Court Roll No. 560.
[3] Reg. Chicheley, f. 17 (February 12, 1418).
[4] Cf. *infra*, p. 62.
[5] Court Roll No. 573 (23-24 Henry VI).

this garden was in the middle of the cloister, and had become choked up in the course of Chichele's building operations. These may also have included the 'little cloister'—a sort of piazza on the north side of the chapel extending as far as the Magna Camera and sheltering the north entrance, which is first mentioned in a roll of his date.[1] By far the most important of his works at the manor was, however, the erection of the great tower which still stands. The bill of costs for the 'new tower at the end of the chapel'[2] is so detailed that we are able to follow the progress of the work, as well as trace it out step by step in the tower as it exists to-day.

The first preparatory stage involved the destruction of a building already standing on the site which Chichele had selected. This was evidently a substantial half-timbered house, possessing three roofs, covered with lead which was carefully removed by John Goffe the plumber, at a wage of 4d. a day.

It took a labourer, one Nicholas Beauchamp, 13 days to demolish these roofs, to collect the rubbish and cart it away, and to take up the pavement; while a carpenter, William Carter of Croydon, and a number of his assistants pulled down the old timbers in the walls. Other labourers broke up 'the old stone wall' of the house and dug its foundations deeper to form the foundations of the new tower. The rag-stone of which this was built was brought by water from Maidstone, together with a certain amount of dressed stone for coigns, window-frames (most of which contained 'ii dayes' or lights), doorways, steps, corbels, chimneys and various service-slabs placed conveniently beneath the windows. Stone was also supplied for a 'vys' or winding stair reaching to the 'crest' of the tower, with three little windows to light it. The cement required was mixed by labourers on the spot, and made from stones gathered on the Thames shore, purchased from Robert Wycourt; many boat-

[1] Court Roll No. 549 (2-3 Henry VI).

[2] *Ibid.* No. 562 (12-13 Henry VI).

loads of chalk were landed at the quay, and 500 ' brek-tyells ' were procured for the chimney and the ' vys.'

The ' raggeston ' cost 4½d. a ' tonnetyght,' and the freightage was 10d. a ' tonnetyght.' The stone-wall to 50 feet of the height of the tower was built by a man called Thomas-atte-Hille ; as a rule, the names of the labourers proclaim their English origin—John Cotes, William Stile, William Reynolds, William Gafney, John Pertrich, and so forth ; but among them two ' Douchemen,' John Geldyr and William Blyse, cement-makers, were engaged.

The work went on throughout the winter of 1434, and when the weather turned cold, 16 bundles of straw were purchased to protect the new-built walls from the frost, as well as ' herdells ' for scaffold-making and withies to bind the hurdles together. The construction of the tower involved some alterations at the west end of the chapel, for the new building was to be nearer to it than the old had been. Twelve days were spent in removing a ' botrus ' or ' boteras,' which must have been a prominent feature, since its repair is more than once separately noted in the accounts. Possibly the buttress had something to do with an oriole or portico, covered with tiles, which existed in the ' Magna Capella ' in Reynolds' time. The lancet windows at the west end were blocked up with 3,000 brick tiles, and their glass removed, carefully mended, by two ' vitreatores,' Thomas Essex and John Thorne (for whose use a ' cristall ' was provided), and replaced in another part. The care expended on these windows certainly suggests that they were filled with stained glass. In front of the west chapel-door a new chamber, or ' solar,' was constructed, namely the present Post Room [1] ; ' pavyngtiell ' was bought for the floor as well as a hundred ' Ostorycchbords called Waynscot ' and strong nails to fasten the new panelling to the walls. Richard Russell ' kerver ' was paid for 19 days' work in making ' angels ' and affixing them to the ceiling. ' Angels ' was a generic term, for among Russell's twelve carvings, still in position, are two portrait-heads, supposed

[1] The Post itself is comparatively of recent origin.

to represent Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, as well as a lion and two groups of foliage.

But to return to the tower itself: it is usually supposed from its architectural character that the little turret at the summit, hooded with lead, and containing the so-called Lollards' prison chamber, is of older date than the rest of Chichele's building. As this part originally was approached by a separate newel stair, this is not impossible, although these accounts certainly suggest that there was a complete clearance of the site and that the whole is of one period of construction. It is certainly difficult to identify any special items of expenditure which seem to belong to the prison, unless the 'railles' for 'costers pendentes' refer to the stout planks which still line the walls and the 'bed of boards' was for the use of captives.

William Shelborne and John Hokyng, carpenter, did 139 days' work on the roof and 'the ii flores' of the new tower, making all sorts of wooden fittings. The timbers had been specially cut in 'Le Westwode' and William Carter, a carpenter-foreman, rode to 'Harowe' to mark down the most suitable trees for the purpose. The stone and timber alike were dragged up into position by huge ropes or pulleys, worked by two engines; there is an entry for oil purchased 'pro lez gynnes unguendo.' New lead was bought at Smithfield market for covering the roof of the tower and an exchange effected of some old lead for sufficient to re-make 'Le Tabard,'[1] that is the sheet of lead roofing the west end of the chapel.

When all the building operations were finished, the chambers, high and low, were cleansed and 'le Robus' carried away; the treasury over the chapel screen and its 'vys,' as well as the crypt chamber, were white-washed, and pargetted, or re-plastered.

No mention has as yet been made of one ornamental feature

[1] The only instance which the *N.E.D.* gives of the use of this rare word (in 1526) shows this to have been the meaning. It is probably a derivative of the obsolete Latin taba (dimin. tabula) meaning a plank: the phrase 'tecta templi plumbeis co-operuit tabulis' occurs in Spelman.

of the tower : this was the tabernacle or niche at the west end, constructed by William Lovne, freemason, who earned 6d. a day with his rations or 8d. without, assisted by Simon Clerk, Henry Hancoke and John Norton. In this niche they placed the image of St. Thomas the Martyr, which had been specially carved by John Triske, ' Magister de les ffremasons,' for a fee of 33s. 3d.

The empty niche still faces towards Westminster ; but St. Thomas's statue, for many a long year hailed by passing boatmen from the river, disappeared in obedience to Henry VIII's commands.[1] The whole cost of the tower was £291 19s. 4½d, some £3,000 of our money ; " every foot in height," says Ducarel, " cost 13s. 4d. for the whole."

A word may be said about the building which was demolished to make way for Chichele's tower. There is no means of knowing what purpose it served, but one may conjecture that it was part of the oldest structure and contained the quarters set apart for the ' Brothers,' that is for the Praemonstratensian canons on the original foundation. That such quarters existed is suggested by the mention, in Reynolds' accounts of a ' garderobe pro fratribus ' and elsewhere of a ' Freres' garden.' The Great Cloister, indeed, may have been erected for the brothers' use ; it was not an essential feature of an archiepiscopal manor-house—and in that case, their garden, neglected in the fifteenth century, was probably the cloister-garth. Under the same triple roof may have been the ' Domus Elemosinaria de Lameth,' named in the 1322 accounts but not at any later time ; perhaps also the second oratory. There was apparently a squint in the western wall of the chapel, traces of which still remain, which must have been accessible from the vanished building and might have served for the use of the brothers or for the sick.

After the completion of the tower, the few court rolls extant mention no outstanding alteration : the repair of tiled

[1] The saint came into his own again by the removal of the hospital dedicated in his name, St. Thomas's Hospital, from Southwark to its present site, close to Lambeth Palace.

roofs and defective gutters; the purchase of 'big nails called spyttynges,' of great iron bolts, or of 'plaunches' to mend the bridge; the replacement of lost 'clekete keyes' for 'Ralph the Gate-keeper's door' or for the parlour door; such trivial matters make up the record.

The shadow of civil war seems just to touch the peace of the manor when one reads, under date 23-24 Henry VI, of an iron crampon supplied for the door of 'Le Ameri' (possibly the paved room beneath the presence chamber), and still more of "i tribulo emp. cum ferro ad idem, pro manerio defirmendo."[1]

The next year the old wall between the Magna Camera Domini and the kitchen had to be rebuilt of bricks, from the foundation. A 'parclos' or screen, with a door in it, strengthened with iron, was also constructed 'next the chapel, at the entrance of my Lord's Chamber.' It is possible that this included a gallery for musicians, for such a gallery existed in the reign of Henry VIII and from it the trumpeter blew a fanfare on the occasion of the Duke of Norfolk's creation ceremony.[2]

A reference to the cleansing of 'le Selynge Capellæ' is also of interest, as it suggests that the chapel roof was always ceiled and not, as has been supposed, originally groined.[3]

(ii) THE TRIAL OF WILLIAM TAILOUR

The greatest severity of Lollard persecution belongs to the archiepiscopate of Thomas Arundel: in comparison with his predecessor, Chichele undoubtedly lacked zeal in heretic-hunting: where Arundel had promoted the statute 'De heretico comburendo,' Chichele was instrumental in bringing about a law by which less frightful modes of punishment

[1] Cf. Court Roll No. 573 (23-24 Henry VI).

The *N.E.D.* interprets 'tribulus' as a "triangular instrument thrown on the ground in order to harass an enemy, a caltrop." Here it means a catapult.

[2] Cf. *infra*, p. 75. Possibly, however, the creation ceremony was held in the Great Hall.

[3] Court Roll No. 576 (25-26 Henry VI).

might be substituted for the fires of Smithfield. Like social reformers of a later time, he perhaps dimly realised that inhuman punishment does nothing to lessen crime, still less errors of judgment or belief : in any case his greater clemency had its effect. " Before the close of Chichele's episcopate," says Dean Hook, " Lollardism as a faction had become politically insignificant."

February 12, 1419.—His name is nevertheless connected with a lamentable heresy-trial that began its course in the ' Library ' at Lambeth.[1] Master William Tailour appeared before him seeking release from a sentence of excommunication passed by Arundel, under which he had lain for fourteen years. Chichele heard the suppliant sympathetically and appointed an hour two days later at which he should return to the manor to receive absolution.

The contemporary register brings vividly before us the scene in the Great Chapel on that winter's morning. Master William, laying aside his cloak and cap, kneels in his doublet before Chichele, with deep contrition begging remission of his sentence. The Archbishop takes a rod in his hand, and begins to recite the penitential psalm, *Miserere mei Deus*, while the clergy standing round respond clause by clause. When prayer and psalm are ended my lord absolves the still-kneeling penitent, and Master William swears on the Holy Gospels to abjure his false opinions and to walk circumspectly henceforth. The story did not end where Chichele would so gladly have had it end. Within two years Tailour was again before the Bishop of Worcester, in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, on the old charges—and chiefly accused of the opinion that " Prayer ought to be addressed to God only, and praying to any created being is idolatrous." On the last day of February, 1422, Chichele, still remembering the scene in Lambeth chapel and the disappointment of his hopes, pronounced sentence of degradation and handed over his victim to the secular arm and death by fire.[2]

[1] ' In libraria sua.'

[2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii, p. 404. Ex reg. Chichele, vol. ii, fol. 57 *et seq.*

(iii) ARCHBISHOP STAFFORD AND THE MAYOR OF EXETER

John Stafford, 1443-1452.—The growing vigour of municipal life in England, so characteristic of the fifteenth century, casts many reflections into that lesser mirror of history on which our attention is centred.

Archbishop Stafford stood in a not unfriendly relationship towards the officials of several ancient boroughs. For example, he secured a charter from Henry VI for the citizens of Canterbury, at a cost to the city of three marks, two shillings, and his services were recognised by the gift of two oxen and twelve sheep. At about the same time, no doubt in reward of some favour unspecified, or in the hope of favours to come, a present arrived at the gates of Lambeth from the corporation of the ancient Port of Lydd, consisting of ' one cowpull of fat cygnets ' purchased from Henry Aleyn, and ' another cowpul of cygnets ' from John Bate the elder, for the sum of 6s. 8d. Further expenses (amounting to 5s. 6d.) were incurred " upon ledyng up the said 2 copull of cygnets to Lambehethe." Whether the birds were to furnish forth an archiepiscopal feast or, as they still required ' ledyng,' they were alive and destined to inhabit the cygnet house on the Thames, history does not relate.[1] Of greater moment is the case of the mayor and citizens of Exeter against Edmund Lacy their bishop and his dean and chapter, which incidentally affords a glimpse of the Archbishop as Chancellor, and even of his personal relations with the appellants. To secure a background for our picture we must for the moment transport our readers to the ancient city of Exeter where a quarrel of long standing was waging over the respective civic and ecclesiastic jurisdictions. Matters came to a head when one Hugh Lucays, a tenant of the Bishop's, " the most, or one of the most, mysgoverned man of all the City of Exeter," assaulted Richard Wade in the High Street and was arrested by the Serjeaunt-at-Mace. He escaped custody and fled to the cathedral, where canons

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. V, p. 519 (Papers of Corpn. of Lydd).

and clergy opposed his re-arrest and beat the city's officials soundly with swords and knives.[1] The inevitable lawsuit was postponed from term to term, until at last, under a writ of the Privy Seal, it was referred to the arbitration of Archbishop Stafford, the Lord Chancellor, and the two Chief Justices Sir John Fortescue and Sir Richard Newton. The Mayor of Exeter, John Shillingford, accordingly journeyed to London from the West to see the proceedings through, and thence wrote lively reports in much detail to his fellow-townsmen of all that befell him. He had his first sight of the Chancellor, " atte brode dore a litell fro the steire fot [stair-foot] comyng fro the Sterre Chamber " ; then and there he knelt down and saluted him " yn the moste godely wyse that y [I] cowde " and received a cordial handshake, and a threefold greeting, " Well come," and again " Well come," and " Right well come, Mayer," from the great man, before he went to his barge.[2] The next day being Sunday, Shillingford and his companions, encouraged by this reception, betook themselves about eight o'clock in the morning to Lambeth to seek a personal interview. " We mette and spake with hym," Shillingford relates " yn the ynner chamber," that is evidently the Magna Camera, " he at that tyme beyng right bysy, goynge yn to his closet." The Archbishop politely excused himself, " that he myght not speake with ous [us] atte that tyme, for gret bysynes and comaunded ous to come ayen [again] the morun." The wily suitor was not to be put off so easily ; "Y, mayer," he says, " prayed hym of OO a worde at that tyme and no more, y seyyng [saying] that y was enfourmed he was dysplesed of my late comyng and, yf he so were, y bysoghte hym to hire [hear] myne excuse grete." Stafford, however, again escaped into his private room, checking his guest's importunity with the remark, " Mayer, wolde God ye hadde made a gode ende at home," which only brought upon him a flood of fresh protestations.

[1] *Letters of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter* (Cam. Soc. 1871), Introd., p. xv.

[2] *Shillingford*, pp. 6-7.

The steward now appeared on the scene and politely offered refreshment to the visitors, but they were in haste to be gone and to carry their complaints elsewhere, " and so went over the water to Temple, . . . and y to the chief justice and comyned [communed] of meny thynges with hym." That same afternoon the countrymen returned once more to Lambeth, ' to my lord after his commandement aboveseid ' and were shown again into the inner chamber which was now crowded, with " myche peeple, lordes and other, my lord Tresorer, under Tresorer, the pryvy seel, and dyvers abbottes and pryours and meny strangers, aleyns [aliens] of other londys."

Presently the Duke of Buckingham arrived on important affairs and everybody except the lords was ordered to withdraw. Shillingford, no whit abashed by the distinguished company in which he now found himself, paid no heed : " Nerthelez [nevertheless] I awayted my tyme," he says, " and put me yn presse, and went right to my lorde Chaunceller, and sede ' My lorde y am come at youre commaundement, but y se [see] youre grete bysynesse is suche that ye may not attende.' " Stafford, with some natural warmth, explained that an interview was just then out of the question. " Mayer," he remarked, " y moste to morun ride by tyme [betimes] to the Kyng, and come ayen this wyke [week] ; ye most awayte apon my comyng, and then y woll speke with the justises and attende for you," and upon this unmistakeable snubbing, Shillingford at last withdrew. His case was now ordered for the following Friday, and learning that Stafford's assessors had been bidden that day to dinner at Lambeth, he thought it politic " seyyng [seeing] that my Lord Chaunceller sholde [must] have a dys [dish] of salt fisshe " to send thither " ij stately pikerellis and ij stately tenchis, for the which my lord Chaunceller cowde right grete thankys." [1]

The gift was the more opportune because the Duke of Buckingham and the Marquis of Suffolk were also dining with Stafford, as well as ' Bysshopis divers,' who had come for

[1] *Shillingford*, p. 9.

' a grete disputacion ' before " my lorde yn his chapell . . . For prechyng of Bysshopis." This conference [1] obliged the further postponement of the Exeter suit. After several other interviews which must have re-awakened the Primate's longing that the importunate mayor had ' made a gode ende at home,' Shillingford decided that a repetition of his solatium of fish might help matters forward, and accordingly wrote home to order a supply of ' bukhorn ' [pilchards] to be sent him for this excellent object.

After at least one angry letter reproaching his correspondent, ' gentill Germyn ' and the ' carioure ' in no measured terms for their dilatoriness,[2] the mayor at last received a consignment of 400 of buckhorn ; it arrived opportunely on " candelmasse yeven afternone, at better late than never, whiche bukhorn was presented to my lord on Candelmasse day by the morun." Shillingford kept the feast at Lambeth ; he was, he tells us, " with my lorde at masse, and offered my candelle to my lord is [his] blessed hand, y knelyng adoun offeryng my candell. My lord, with laghyng [laughing] chere upon me, seide hertely ' Graunt mercy, Mayer.' " The gift of buckhorn was suitably acknowledged by an invitation ' to mete ' the same day. The host and his gratified visitor met at the end of the high table, and " as sone as ever he saw me he toke me fast by the honde and thankis ynogh to." The donor modestly disclaimed such excess of gratitude ; " y seide to my lorde hit was to [o] symple a thyng, considryng his astate, to seye onys [once] graunt mercy, bot yf y hadde be [been] at home, at this faire, he sholde have had better stuf and other thynges." After this agreeable interchange, business supervened. " Y went forth with hym," the narrative continues, " to the myddis of the halle, he stondyng yn his astate ayenst the fire a grete whiles, and ij bisshopis, the ij Chif Justises and other lordis, knyghtes and squyers and other comyn puple [people], grete multitude, the halle fulle, alle stondyng afar apart fro hym ; y knelyng by hym ; and

[1] No explanatory reference can be traced in Stafford's Register.

[2] *Shillingford*, pp. 22-3.

after recommendacion y moved hym of our mater, shortly as tyme asked."[1]

1448.—In the following February, Stafford wrote on behalf of his friend the 'Mayer' to beg the Bishop of Exeter to refrain from proceeding at common law until a settlement was reached; in December the final award was amicably made.[2] Such life-like pictures of the archiepiscopal circle in the mid-fifteenth century, some indeed calling for an artist's brush, justify this somewhat detailed history of a local embroilment.

John Kempe, 1452-54.—Stafford's successor, Cardinal Kempe, also had relations with the municipalities; on one occasion when Convocation, in consideration of his infirm health, had been adjourned from St. Paul's to the chapel of his manor of Lambeth, he called 'in alta camera majori'[3] his prolocutor, John Stokes, Archdeacon of Ely, together with Master Andrew Holes, Archdeacon of York, Master Robert Stillyngton, Archdeacon of Colchester, and Master John Selotte, Archdeacon of Cornwall, an imposing array of ecclesiastics, reinforced by two learned doctors-of-law, Master William Witham and Master Hugo Sugar, and appointed them all to deliberate with the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of London on the question of a disputed 'oblation' and to bring the civic authorities, as soon as might be, to reason, and the abatement of their claim.[4] Only a few months before his death, as Chancellor he interviewed at Lambeth "the Meire and merchaunts of London and Merchauntz of the Staple of Calays," who made complaint that 'the Lord Bonvile' had seized ships and goods belonging to the Flemings and to other vassals of the Duke of Burgundy. Kempe, whose powers of diplomacy seem, in his old age, to have forsaken him, gave them, in the narrator's words "none answere to their plesyng." His

[1] *Shillingford*, p. 36.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[3] See *supra*, p. 51, for a note on this room.

[4] Wilkins, vol. iii, p. 562, ex reg. Kempe, fol. 291 *seq.* It was held from day to day between February 26 and March 15.

hearers were doubtless well aware of his attachment to Henry VI and the Lancastrian party, of which the piratic William Bonville, Lord Haryngton was at this time an adherent. Kempe, on the other hand, dreaded the animosity of the Yorkists and had recently ordered all his servants to be ready to defend his person with " bowe and arrowes, swerd and bokeler, crossebowes and alle other habillements of werre [war]," [1] and had barred with iron the windows of the Great Chamber. The mayor and his following did not scruple to press their advantage even to the point of intimidation. " Wherefore the substance of theym," continues the narrator, repeating, no doubt with some zest, the popular hearsay of his faction, " with one voys cried alowde Justice, Justice, Justice, whereof the Chaunceller was so dismayed that he could ne [nor] myght no more sey to theym for fere."

(iv) PAPAL EMISSARIES AT LAMBETH

The last century of the Roman supremacy witnessed the presence at Lambeth of many emissaries of the Pope. Sometimes they were carrying out the ordinary routine of business—and even this was not unattended with difficulty, for, under Archbishop Stafford, Convocation refused the demands of Lodowic and Vincent Clement, collectors of the papal tenths, on the plea of the King's prohibition.[2] Sometimes they were entrusted with particular errands. For instance, the same Vincent Clement, professor of theology and collector of first-fruits for Pope Nicholas V, preached in Lambeth Chapel before Convocation a Latin sermon of great length, in which he described a diabolic attempt made against ' the Pope and Holy Church ' by a Knight of Rome, one Stephano de Porchario, and their miraculous escape. This sermon aroused intense excitement ; the hearers were transported no less with grief and astonishment at the

[1] *Archaeologia*, vol. xxix, p. 310. (A Letter of Intelligence. January 14, 1454.)

[2] Wilkins, *Conc.* vol. iii, pp. 549-50, ex reg. Staff., fol. 47a (October, 1446).

treacherous plot than with joy at its ill-success, and the aged Cardinal Kempe, then and there, offered thanksgiving for so great a deliverance.[1]

Chichele's nationalist tendencies had lost him the Cardinalate, which was bestowed on the wealthy and astute Henry Beaufort, the royal kinsman. Kempe's diplomacies secured the coveted honour while he was still Archbishop of York, together with the titular bishopric of Santa Rufina. Bourchier received the cardinal's insignia, with great solemnity and display, at Lambeth on 31st May, 1472 : his newly-appointed suffragan, Henry, titular Bishop of Jaffa, who was also Rector of Lambeth, William Sellynge, the learned Prior of Christchurch, the Archdeacon of Canterbury and the aged and infirm Stillyngton, Bishop of Bath and Wells, together with many knights and nobles and the leading citizens of London, crowded the Great Chapel, when the Mass de Spiritu Sancto was sung by Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, who placed the red hat on the new cardinal's head.[2]

(v) THE TRIAL OF REGINALD PECOCK

Thomas Bourchier, 1454-1486.—Under Cardinal Bourchier, the Yorkist party became dominant in the affairs of the Church ; but the echoes of civil strife to be heard at Lambeth are comparatively few. The most interesting event belonging to Bourchier's primacy was probably the arraignment of Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, for his authorship of heretical writings, a trial which was in reality a despairing effort to stem that tide of intellectual liberty destined, so few years after, to break in beyond restraint and sweep away the barriers of mediaevalism.

Pecock's appearance at the Council of Westminster before King Henry VI had already aroused a storm of hatred and fury against him on account of his detested opinions, and Bourchier had ordered him to withdraw from the royal presence. " He had written," it was said, " on profound

[1] Wilkins, *Conc.* vol. iii, p. 562, ex reg. Kempe, fol. 291 *seq.* (1452).

[2] Hook, vol. v, p. 347.

subjects in the English language ; what else but mischief to the ignorant vulgar could be expected from such productions ? He had . . . rejected the authority of the old doctors, saying that neither their writings, nor those of others, were to be received except in so far as they were agreeable to reason. When passages from their works had been produced against him he had been known to say Pooh ! Pooh ! He had even made a new creed of his own and denied that the Apostles' Creed was composed by the Apostles." [1]

November 11, 1457.—Accordingly the Archbishop summoned Bishop Reginald to attend before him bringing copies of his offending books. Mandates for the attendance of Pecock's opponents had also been issued : they were asked to convey their objections in writing, and while the case was *sub judice* to abstain from vilifying ' Lord Reynold the Bishop.' In the interval before his examination Pecock employed himself in correcting his works. On the appointed day he arrived at Lambeth bringing with him nine volumes containing many erasures and passages re-written. These were handed by the primate to twenty-four doctors for examination ; they reported on them unfavourably and were prepared to prove their unorthodoxy, ' in full canonicals,' before the King in Council. Pecock now underwent frequent examinations at various places, but it was probably again at Lambeth, at a meeting of bishops and learned doctors, that he retracted sundry conclusions obnoxious to his judges, and there also that Bourchier offered him the choice between a public abjuration and deliverance, after being degraded, to the secular arm ' as the food of fire and fuel for the burning.' Pecock chose the less heroic course, adding that he intended for the future " so to live that no suspicion shall arise against me all the days of my life." On the eve of his public ordeal he again made abjuration in writing at Lambeth. His recantation took place at Paul's Cross, where, in a condition of such confusion and bewilderment that he scarcely knew what it was he said, he " retracted errors which he had never

[1] Works, Introd., pp. xxxvi-vii, Churchill Babington (Rolls Series 19).

uttered and utterances which he knew to be truths," and witnessed the holocaust of three folios and eleven quartos of his own composition at the hands of the public executioner. He died in prison, but not, as has sometimes been supposed, under the Archbishop's roof.

(vi) THE BUILDING OF MORTON'S TOWER

John Morton, 1486-1501.—Cardinal Morton was the first Archbishop to be consecrated (by Archbishop Bourchier, and to the see of Ely, whence he was translated to Canterbury) ' in capella manerii de Lambethe ' ; the consecration of Archbishop Baldwin to the see of Rochester indeed took place ' apud Lamhee,' but in the parish church or a private chapel attached to La Place.[1] No detailed account of Morton's ceremony is extant. He did much to enlarge and beautify the fabric of the old manor-house, and, on Laud's authority, has the credit of having inserted painted glass in the Chapel, namely, a set of scriptural windows representing " the whole Story from the Creation to the Day of Judgment." There were three lights in each of these windows, " the two side-lights contained the Types in the Old Testament and the middle light the Antitype and Verity of Christ in the New."[2] Subjects such as these are more characteristic of the stained glass of the thirteenth than of the fifteenth century and, as has already been suggested, Morton's windows may have replaced earlier examples.[3]

To the group of buildings already dignified by Chichele's Tower and the great roof of the Hall, was now added the imposing turreted gateway which is still known by the name of Morton's Tower.

The archbishops' manor-house for at least a century and a half had had its Great Gate : a mention of it occurs, as we

[1] Cave-Brown, p. 18 (1180).

[2] *History of Trial of Archbishop Laud*, p. 311.

[3] Compare the twelfth and thirteenth century type and parable windows in Canterbury Cathedral ; the reference to work on the chapel windows under Archbishop Edmund (1234) may be remembered, as well as the removal of glass from the west window by Chichele.

have seen, in the Computus Ballivorum of Archbishop Reynolds. Probably Morton's gateway partially incorporated the old Magna Porta and the lower rooms are in part of earlier date than 'the new tower constructed by the Lord Cardinal.' There is evidence that, under Bourchier (c. 1470), the Archives were kept in 'a certain low chamber' of the gateway to the left of the entrance, and that they were subsequently transferred to a chamber on the right side, adjacent to the dwelling house 'in the new work of the gate, newly-built,' which Morton provided for his janitor.[1] These words imply additions rather than replacements.[2]

Morton's Tower is a splendid and almost unique example of the early Tudor style of brick-building. The entrance gate with a smaller doorway beside it has richly moulded arches and a roof richly groined. Above it is a three-light perpendicular window, and on either hand massive square towers, five stories high. The whole range of buildings is heavily battlemented. The open archway on the north side is of loftier and wider proportions. Down its angle runs a leaden water-pipe which still bears on a square head the rebus of the builder, a ton with the letter M upon it.

A petition survives among the Chancery Records describing how Morton, in his capacity of Chancellor, was approached by one of his own workmen, "oon of the laberers of yor honorable werke and bildyng, at yor place of Lambhith by the space of half a yere." This man, John Lucas, had been attached for a vagabond by John Cutte, 'Shyrref' of Middlesex, at the 'untrue surmyse' of one William Frost, and sent to the Counter prison. Actually he was no vagabond but had in his purse "iijs. vijd. in monys which he had spared of your gracious wages," his earnings namely while he had been employed on the building of Morton's Tower.'[3]

[1] *Cardinal Morton's Register* (Tudor Studies), Claude Jenkins, p. 3.

[2] "The old Prerogative Registry," states Professor Jenkins, "remained in the right-hand tower, in the room that still bears its name, until the passing of the Probate Act (1857) deprived it of its functions and its contents."

[3] *E.C.P.*, 145-44.

(vii) SOME MEMORIES OF MORTON'S DAY

It may well have been in the spacious chamber within the tower, newly completed and thus free from memories of old strife, that Morton, sitting in a judicial capacity, received in audience Master Thomas Cook, doctor of decrees and recently ambassador to the town of Bruges ;[1] Master Thomas came as the emissary of Henry VII and the Lady Elizabeth, his consort, daughter of Edward IV, to exhibit to the Cardinal the papal letters, with scarlet thread and crocus-tinted seal, confirming despite their consanguinity the marriage of the cousins, which was to set at rest so many unhappy divisions.[2] To Lambeth, also, Morton brought back the young Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence, after his presentation before the Bishops and Clergy, the Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriff of London, in order to confound his impersonator, Lambert Simnel.[3]

About this time the marvellous child, Thomas More, a lad about twelve years old, fresh from his upbringing in the Latin tongue at St. Anthony's school in London, was received into Morton's household, and waited at his table. At Christmas-time the boy took his place, unrehearsed, in the revels, and with the delightful humour that characterised him to the last, stepped in among the actors and invented a part of his own " which made the lookers-on more sport than all the players beside." The Cardinal delighted in his ' witt and towardnesse ' and would tell his guests that, whosoever should live to see it, the young page would prove a marvellous man.[4] More gratefully recorded, in the pages of *Utopia* under the fable of Hythloday, his early impressions of the Cardinal's wisdom and kindliness.

[1] *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, vol. 1476-85, p. 313 (July 1482).

[2] Wilkins, vol. iii, p. 623.

The letters of John de Giglis, the Papal Collector, were similarly attested ' in quadam bassa perlura ' at Lambeth, in the Archbishop's presence a few months later.

[3] *Morton's Register, loc. cit.*, p. 36.

[4] *Life of Sir Thomas More*, William Roper, p. 3. (b. 1478).

Morton's primacy is the bridge between the old order and the new: before it closed the growing abuses in English monastic life were becoming all too patent and some of the Archbishop's efforts to bring about their reform found a setting at Lambeth. The Prior of St. Andrew's, Northampton, resigned his office in the Chapel; and Morton, seated in the 'alta camera' in his tower, issued a stern monition to William, Abbot of St. Albans, who was charged with simony, usury and flagrant waste of the abbatial properties, to reform within a month, on pain of the archiepiscopal visitation.[1]

[1] *Morton's Register, loc. cit.*, p. 41.

CHAPTER V

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO 1532

(i) ARCHBISHOP HENRY DENE

Henry Dene, 1500-1503.—Cardinal Morton's death occurred at his Manor of Knole on October 12, 1500; his successor, Henry Dene, held the primacy less than three years, and died at Lambeth on February 15, 1503. His body was borne to the riverside, where a barge, surrounded by flaming torches, awaited its passenger, with three and thirty boatmen, clothed in sable garments, ready to carry him, by the waterways of Thames and Medway to Faversham, for his burial in the Martyrdom of Canterbury Cathedral. These ceremonies were directed by the Archbishop's two chaplains, Richard Gardyner and Thomas, afterwards Cardinal, Wolsey.

During Archbishop Dene's brief term of office pageant-loving London was stirred by the arrival of the young princess Catherine of Aragon, for her betrothal to Arthur, Prince of Wales. Lambeth House, which had been dismantled after Cardinal Morton's death, could not be made ready for her reception: she and her ladies therefore stayed close at hand at La Place, whither a rich litter was ordered to be sent 'at good hour in the mornyng,' provided the weather favoured a state entry into London. The Archbishop himself and 'the remenaunt of her companye' found quarters 'in the towne of Lambythe.'[1]

(ii) ERASMUS AND COLET

William Warham, 1503-32.—The long episcopate of William Warham, so full of significance for the future of the

[1] Gairdner, *Letters and Papers of Richard III and Henry VII*, vol. i, App. A, p. 409 (Rolls 24).

WILLIAM WARHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY 1503-33.
Engraved by Picart from the portrait by Holbein at Lambeth Palace.

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English Church, so full of dramatic interest from the interplay of ambitions in such men as Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell, is among the less fruitful for the historian of Lambeth. Warham was one of those primates who preferred to have a place of residence away from the scene of their labours. So long as he held the Chancellorship he was compelled to be in London from time to time, though even so he made use of the manor-house rather as a city man uses his office, returning to Croydon later in the day. He sometimes excused himself from giving entertainment at Lambeth on the plea that he had no provision there. After he had resigned the Great Seal into Cardinal Wolsey's hands, he was to be found more and more frequently at Otford, or at Knole, which was recommended by his physicians for its healthy situation. The climate of Canterbury, in later years, tried his feeble health, and he dreaded the journeys hither and thither. Nevertheless the association with Lambeth of certain ' people of importance in their day ' belongs particularly to our record and is characteristic of an era when personality counted very much. In 1506 Erasmus came on a visit to England and at once took steps, through his old friend Grocyn, a protégé of Warham, to obtain an introduction to the Archbishop. With a subtilty born of considerable experience in the manner of approach to great men's favour, he took with him to Lambeth a translation of the Hecuba of Euripides, which, as an exercise for his Greek, had occupied his leisure at Louvain : this composition he revised in readiness, adding a preface, an ode in Iambics, and an Epistle Dedicatory to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he now offered the scholarly tribute. The course of that historic visit is best related in Erasmus's characteristic fashion ;[1] " When the Archbishop had talkt to me (saith Erasmus) a little before Dinner and found me not a man of many words, he resumed some Discourse with me after

[1] As translated by Samuel Knight in his *Life of Erasmus* (1726), pp. 28 *et seq.*, from *Erasmi Catalogus Lucubrationum præfixus operum*, tom. primo, Basle, 1540.

Dinner, in an easy and affable way, and dism'st me with an honorary present which, in his gentile manner, he gave to me in private, and between our selves only, that he might not oppress my Modesty, nor raise the envy of others, this was in his own Palace at Lambeth.

As we were crossing the Water back again Mr. Grocyn asked me in the Boat how much the Arch-Bishop had given me.

O, said I, an immense Sum, speaking by way of jest and raillery; he smiled upon with such an air that I could not but ask the Reason of his smiling ; what, said I, do you think the Arch-Bishop has so mean a Spirit that he shou'd not be willing, or so small an income that he should not be able, to give like himself, or do you judge the Book I presented him deserved no greater acknowledgment. At last I fairly told him what the Archbishop had given me, and it being somewhat beneath expectation, I ask'd him what might be the Reason he gave me no more, and upon my urging him for an answer, he told me bluntly that the Arch-Bishop had held his hand, not for any those Reasons I before suggested, but upon a Suspicion that I had dedicated the same Work in some other Country to some other Patron : Being a little surprised at this rebuke : I ask'd him how he could imagine any such thing : Upon which setting up a sort of deriding laugh why (saies he) you are used to do so, meaning that such Tricks were played by some needy Travellers."

Erasmus was so much piqued by Grocyn's suspicions and perhaps not a little conscious of their truth, that the next year when he got back to Paris, he placed his translation of the Hecuba with Badius the printer, added to it the Iphigenia of the same poet, and dedicated both to William Warham. " Now he thought himself a little revenged upon Master Grocyn," says his biographer, ". . . and valued himself upon his honour and greatness of Spirit in scorning to be disrespectful and ungrateful to the Archbishop, though (he saies) he never thought of seeing him again."

Actually however, this was but the first of many occasions

on which Erasmus enjoyed the hospitality of a most bountiful friend and patron. He went often to Lambeth with Dean Colet ; one day as the two men crossed the river together on their way to dinner with Warham, Colet, sitting in the ferry boat, pulled out the volume of his companion's Enchiridion, and without comment, began to read aloud that part which prescribes a remedy against anger and passion. At the Archbishop's table it so fell out that he found himself placed opposite a relation of his own, an old uncle, " so froward and perverse in his Humours that he could never agree with him." They had besides " a Suit or Quarrel depending, for a very considerable Sum of Money, enough to create a War between Father and Son."

The Archbishop, who was aware of the circumstances and perhaps guessed something of the agitation which deprived his guest of the power to talk or to eat, exercised to the full the charm of manner which made him so admirable a host. Easily and cheerfully he framed his discourse to suit exactly the humour of his company, and, when conversation flagged, in a lighter vein he chose the topic of Age, which speedily loosened all tongues ; " they who had said nothing before began to be very free and familiar ; and the Uncle, like a True Old Man, boasted what he could do at his years." After supper, when one at least of the disputants was well pleased with himself, Warham took the uncle and nephew aside and brought them to terms of agreement.

As the two companions returned in their boat to the other bank, Colet told Erasmus the whole story ; how incensed he had been against his uncle, how inclined to " put off the kinsman and the very Christian and to have waged war upon him " ; how the calm words of the Enchiridion had helped him to self-control at table and had paved the way for Warham's kindly interposition.

This tale of a Lambeth dinner-party Erasmus ever after made good use of, telling it to " people that were at difference and hard to be reconciled." [1]

[1] Samuel Knight, *Life of Dr. John Colet*, pp. 245 *et seq.*

But not the shades of the Reformers alone walk the corridors of Lambeth in Warham's company ; southern faces, the emissaries of Rome, are still to be encountered there. For instance, the historian, Polidore Vergil,—at this date not far past the beginning of his forty years in the service of Henry VII and Henry VIII,[1] in Warham's presence, handed over to Peter Griphius of Pisa, his successor in the office of Papal Collector of Peter's Pence in England, the great book of the collectorate, seventy-six folios, bound in black leather, with the name of the venerable man Master Walter Medford inscribed on the first page.[2] Henceforth the versatile Polidore was to devote his leisure to " writing and putting fourthe in printe divers notable workes and stories."

(iii) A PAGEANT OF THE NOBILITY

Warham on his accession received the pallium at the manor-house, but his enthronement feast, ever memorable, graced the halls of Canterbury. If Lambeth eyes rejoiced in none of those subtilties, those miracles in confectionery which made a nine-days' wonder for the men of Kent, and still amaze the modern reader in Somner's pages, they were rewarded, not many years later by a spectacle unique in its character and no less typical of the Archbishop's regal hospitality.

On Candlemas Day, 1514, a unique and imposing ceremony took place ' at Lambeth, in the bishop of Canterbury is place.' This was the creation, by Henry VIII, of two dukes and two earls : Thomas, Earl of Surrey was made Duke of Norfolk, and Charles, Viscount Lisle, Duke of Suffolk ; Thomas, Lord Howard the younger, Admiral of England, became Earl of Surrey, and Charles, Lord Herbert, the Lord Chamberlain, received the Earldom of Worcester.

Two somewhat detailed narratives are in existence,[3]

[1] In 1550 he desired licence in his old age to visit his native country, while still enjoying the profits of his archdeaconry of Wells and prebendal stall in Hereford Cathedral. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ed. VI*, vol. iii, p. 311.

[2] Addit. MS. 15386, Brit. Mus., f. 403.

[3] Addit. MS. 29, 549, f. 1, and Harl. MS. 6,074, f. 51.

enabling us to follow step by step the stately ceremonial. It opened with the celebration of High Mass in the Chapel: before service was concluded, after the king and queen had made their accustomed offerings, the four peers retired to two dressing-rooms, one for the dukes and one for the earls, made ready for them in a gallery at the end of the Great Chamber, there to don their robes of estate. Divine Service being at an end, the King proceeded to the Great Chamber, where he stood beneath a canopy, not being crowned, attended by the greater number of the nobles of his realm and by the Duc de Longueville, at that time a prisoner in England. The Queen and her ladies were close at hand, where they might see the order of the creations; in the confined space the press of people was "sumwhat gret, notwithstanding the dores were straitly kept," for parliament was in session and all the rank and fashion were accordingly in town. The stage thus being set, the pageant began. Trumpeters in the musicians' gallery blew a fanfare and a long procession filed in stately fashion before the King. First came the candidates for the new honours, led by noblemen of high rank, the Earl of Essex bearing a sword, with pummel upwards, the Earl of Kent "the capp with the Coronall," and the Earl of Derby, the Golden Verge; the officers of Arms followed, with Garter-King carrying the letters patent of the creations. Three times the lords, in robes of estate, made obeisance before the King. Then Garter-King-at-Arms presented their patents to the Vice-Chamberlain, Sir Henry Marney, (the Lord Chamberlain being otherwise occupied) who delivered them to the King, and he, in his turn, to the Lord Thomas Rowthall, Bishop of Durham, his principal secretary, to be read aloud. As the Bishop uttered the words 'Gladii cincturam' "the King dyd putte the girdill of the swordes about the dukes' neckes, which swordis dyd hange before theym somewhat, a lyttle in bende, [bent inwards] the poynt towarde the syde." Again, at the words 'Cappe et circuli impositionem in capite' (so the chronicler proceeds in a careful description

of each detail), " the Kyng dyd put the cappes of astate uppon their heddes, and at ' tradicionem virge auree ' the Kyng delyvered their golden Roddes." All forms being complied with, the new dukes stood by the King, as their rank permitted, to await the arrival of their two fellow-earls. According to prescription Garter-King-at-Arms was now to receive in fee a robe of splendour from each of the noblemen he had sponsored. My Lord of Norfolk presented " a gown of crimson velvet furred with black bogy." My Lord of Suffolk, " a gown of violet velvet, furred with sables," and trimmed, or ' ramplished,' with " scriptures of fyne gold Inameled, whereyn was wrytten Loyalte me oblige." This gorgeous apparel, valued at two hundred pounds sterling, Garter put on immediately, and wore all that day long. It may be said in passing, the owner afterwards redeemed his fine feathers at a high price ; he paid for its recovery " a nother gowne of blacke velvett furred with martres, and V. li. in angelets for a dublett, delyvered by maister Welch, his seruant," and in addition a life-annuity of £3.

The ritual was now repeated for the three new earls, who were led in by their peers, with the difference that at the words ' Gladii cincturam ' the swords were " over their ryght shulders and so in bende [bent inwards] towards their left armes."

At the close of the long ceremony, the King went to the dining-chamber prepared for him, and Garter-King again had the pleasant task of accepting fees for the morning's work ; in his turn the Earl of Surrey presented " a gowne of Ryght crymosen velvet, made in thanowe [the now, or present] fassheon, bordered with a brode garde [stripe] betwene ij narow gardes of whyte cloth of golde, lyned with blacke double sarsenett " ; the Earl of Worcester's douceur was a " reding-cote of tawny velvet, furred with black bogy, and 5 marks in Angeletts." The procession was now re-formed ; noblemen, officers, trumpeters and minstrels, the dukes, still wearing their ' cappes of astate ' and swords about their necks and carrying golden rods, and the earls similarly

encumbered, made their way to Morton's Gatehouse, all newly red and white, where dinner was prepared for every comer. At the second course the King's style was proclaimed, for which feat the officers-at-arms received a royal bounty at the hands of Master John Heron ; and next the styles of the four new peers, when again a recompense of reward, after ancient precedent, and on a scale nicely graduated according to rank, was forthcoming. Upon this note of princely liberality our record fittingly ends, and the trumpeters' and minstrels' gay music fades away into the distance of far-off centuries.

(iv) WARHAM SITS IN JUDGMENT

Our record of Archbishop Warham must not suggest only the charm of his friendship and the bounteousness of his hospitality. His youthful training had given him the equipment, and to some degree the outlook, of the acute man of law.

When he arrived at Lambeth, he at once, in his capacity of Chancellor, made use of the opportunity to reform crying abuses, of which he must long have been cognizant, in the administration of justice by the Chancery Court. Early in February, 1507, with the ready concurrence of the lawyers who practised before him, he issued, from Lambeth, nine statutes for the Court of Audience. These secured for poor suitors an untold boon, namely, the right to legal assistance without fee and gratis ; nor was this the whole of the improvement they attempted. " The judge was required to expedite causes with all possible dispatch," adds Hook, in his summary of these equitable measures, " and to take nothing from the parties through the whole course of the process. In the event of any advocate or proctor so appointed by the judge appearing . . . remiss in management of a poor man's case, or of his refusing to proceed with the cause without money payment, he was to be for ever disqualified from practising in the court." [1]

[1] Hook, vol. vi, p. 238.

1511.—Colet's visit to Lambeth, already described, must have coincided with the arraignment, before Warham's archiepiscopal tribunal, of the Kentish heretics, chiefly Tenterden people, six of whom he had already dealt with in his manorial court of Knole. The trials dragged on from May to September ; the accused had declared that " in the sacrament of the altar, the consecrated elements were not the body and blood of Christ but material bread and wine. They rejected the sacrament of baptism, and held confirmation and confession to be unnecessary. Marriage also they considered as unprofitable to the soul, and they denied extreme unction, pilgrimages and saint-worship."[1]

Had their examination taken place at the close of Warham's episcopate, these opinions, at many points, would scarcely have appeared revolutionary. Even at this date, there was little of fervour about the prosecution. Many of the simple countrymen and women, overcome with alarm at their unwonted surroundings, or having but little real grasp on their supposed opinions, were " easily frighted out of them," abjured and performed penance. Some who had been kept awhile in prison, perhaps in the gate-house or Chichele's Tower, informed against their companions, and swore it was they who had been their false teachers. One, Agnes Greville, was accused by her husband and two sons of having since the end of the reign of Edward IV persisted in error. Some were finally handed over to the secular arm, but, so far as is known, the proceedings went no farther ; and none of their names occur in Foxe's Martyrology.[2]

(v) TOWARDS REFORMATION

The meetings of Convocation in Warham's time were often held at Westminster. The records of Lambeth contain no explicit reference to his dealings with the haughty and imperious Cardinal Wolsey. Towards the end of his primacy, when rumours of change were insistent, and it was becoming

[1] Hook, vol. vi, p. 281. [2] Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, vol. i, p. 28.

hard to steer a safe course between the reformers, on the one hand, with their demand for an authorized version of the Scriptures in the vernacular, and, on the other hand, those who were alarmed for the maintenance of the true Catholic faith—a royal commission was appointed to report judicially on certain books, openly asserted to be 'replete with heresy.' Under Warham's chairmanship the Commissioners sat at Lambeth, during the closing months of 1529 and until the ensuing spring, to examine the offending works ; on the 15th of May 1530 the King in person received their report, in the old Chapel of St. Edward, " on the est side of the parliament chamber," Sir Thomas More, the Chancellor, Cuthbert Tunstall, Stephen Gardyner and many other ecclesiastics and scholars being in attendance upon him.

The report included a long list of heretical notions found in the condemned books, and in " the Translation of Scripture corrupted by William Tyndale, as well in the Olde Testamente as in the Newe " ; as a measure of diplomacy the document was subsequently issued by proclamation, and the criticism and good counsel which had emanated from Warham's study were ordered to be spread abroad publicly by preachers up and down the land.[1]

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii, p. 728.

CHAPTER VI

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER AT LAMBETH

(i) CRANMER AND ANNE BOLEYN

Thomas Cranmer, 1533-1556.—The story of Queen Katherine and her rival Anne Boleyn should recall, as Shakespeare well divined, to each generation which studies the manners and morals of its forbears, not a mere vulgar intrigue but elements of deepest human tragedy. The scenes which had their setting at Lambeth mark the earlier and later crises of the drama ; the point where evil desire and vanity appeared to triumph over a sublime constancy ; and the moment when retribution fell upon one of the ill-doers : at both stages Dr. Thomas Cranmer played a leading and unenviable part, indeed, these are episodes which his admirers would gladly efface from his primatial record. The facts are too familiar to need much recapitulation. A chance meeting between Cranmer, the Cambridge tutor, and King Henry VIII's ministers, Dr. Stephen Gardyner, Secretary of State, and Dr. Fox, the Lord High Almoner ; a chance remark of Cranmer's, who was interested in the king's matrimonial affairs from the jurist's rather than the theologian's standpoint ; a well-timed repetition of his comments and the relief they offered to the royal conscience ; and Cranmer's life was wrested from the unambitious course at the University apparently reserved for it. The offer of the primacy, vacant by Warham's death, reached him in Germany, whither he had gone after arguing the King's cause before Pope Clement at Rome. When he returned to England, at the end of January, 1533, the truth must have been self-evident,

LAMBETH PALACE. THE GUARDROOM 1806. THE ROOF-TIMBERS WERE RE-USED IN THE PRESENT DINING-ROOM.

From a drawing by F. Nash, engraved by J. Roffe, in Brayley and Herbert's Lambeth Palace Illustrated.

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that he owed his extraordinary advancement to the urgency of Henry's position. The dissolution of the Spanish marriage was still undetermined in any court, yet Cranmer himself declared that Henry and Anne Boleyn were already married "about St. Paul's Day last," and the legitimacy of Anne's expected child had to be safeguarded. In face of such evidence of human frailty Cranmer set to his task. It was well perhaps for his peace of mind that Queen Katherine, in seclusion at Ampthill, met with a scornful disregard the summons to appear before the archiepiscopal court at Dunstable Priory; face to face with her tragic figure he could hardly have uttered with such apparent indifference the sentence of divorce between "the most illustrious and powerful prince Henry VIII and the most serene Lady Katherine."

From Dunstable Cranmer proceeded at once to Lambeth. There, to make assurance sure, he held in secrecy another court, repeated his former sentence and reaffirmed the validity of the King's most recent marriage. This was done in 'a certain well-known high gallery in the manor of Lambeth,' possibly one of the galleries which formed the upper story of the cloister and to the west overlooked the Great Hall, or the audience chamber in Morton's Tower. Those who heard his words were few, some four or five creatures of the King, among them the sinister presence of Thomas Cromwell. One thing only now remained to round off the cycle of misdeeds. On Whitsunday Cranmer crossed the river in his barge and in the Abbey crowned the new Queen, charming and triumphant, her long hair flowing over the regal mantle of purple velvet.

(ii) SIR THOMAS MORE

But the end was not yet. The King, in co-operation with his minister, Cromwell—subtle, implacable, utterly passionless, so terrible a foil to the master he served—assumed autocratic powers hitherto unimagined in England. The Act of Supremacy, declaring him the only head on earth of the Church of England, was forced

through parliament without effective opposition. Within the year a supplementary bill was introduced making it " high treason to deny to the king and queen or their heirs the dignity, style and name of their royal estate, or to call them heretic, schismatic or infidel " ;[1] this was in effect to legitimise the children of Anne Boleyn, and to acquiesce in Katherine's divorce. Some modifications, delaying enforcement and limiting the charge of treason to ' malicious denial of the King's title,' were attempted, in order to mitigate the severity of the measure, and to shield those, who must, in conscience, demur at making the attestations required under this and the earlier enactment.

Cromwell, no less than Henry himself, was well aware that for one man, outstanding among the Englishmen who had dedicated themselves to the New Learning, the summons to perjure his soul was in effect a summons to death. " Item to know the King's pleasure touching Master More," wrote the dictator among the daily memoranda in which he ' ticked off ' human lives.[2] The King's pleasure was to call Master More from the house of Master Clement, his son-in-law, at Chelsea, to Lambeth, where, long since, he had passed boyish days in Cardinal Morton's household, " bandied fun with Warham and Erasmus, or bent over the easel of Holbein."

He was not unprepared ; he had passed the night in prayer, " earlie in the morning was housled, and for other matters had little care." He bade farewell to his wife and children, closed the wicket gate behind him and took boat over the river. For a while he sat ' with a heavie hart, verie sadd,' wrapt in some inward struggle ; suddenly he roused himself and told Master Roper and the servants who accompanied him, " I thanke our Lorde the field is wonne." Of his doings before the Council he wrote in detail, with the dry humour that never forsook him, in a letter to his daughter, Margaret Roper, who was following his fortunes in anxious

[1] Friedman, *Anne Boleyn*, vol. ii, p. 40, and Statutes of the Realm, 26 Henry VIII, cap. xiii.

[2] Green, *Short History of the English People* (1893), vol. ii, pp. 677-8.

suspense. There is no more vivid page in Lambeth records, no memory on which the lovers of truth, constancy and courage can more reverently dwell.

"When I was before the Lords at Lambeth," [1] he tells her, "I was the first that was called in. . . . After the cause of my sending declared unto me, whereof I somewhat mervailed, considering they sent for no temporall man besides myself, I desired the sight of the oath,[2] which they shewed me under the great seal. Then I desired a sight of the act of the succession, which was also delivered me in print: which I red secret by myself and the oath considered with the act."

After this calm deliberation in face of deadly peril, More carefully explained his position to his interrogators, "that my purpose was not to put anie fault either in the act, or in anie man that made it: or in the oath or anie man that sweareth to it; nor to condemn the conscience of anie other man; but as for myself . . . though I would not denie to sweare to the succession, yet to the other oath I could not sweare, without the jeoparding of my soule to perpetuall damnation."

This reply, scarcely unexpected, aroused a regret by no means simulated in More's judges. "Upon this my lord chancellour [Sir Thomas Audeley] said that they were verie sorrie to hear me say thus: and see me thus to refuse the oath: And they all affirmed that, on their faith and honours I was the first man that ever refused it. And this would cause the king's highness conceave great indignation against me." Such representations availed nothing against More's firm resolve. Accordingly he was commanded to leave the judgment hall and go down into the garden. The April days were already sultry with untimely summer, and says More, "I tarried in the old burned chamber[3] that looketh downe to the garden and would not goe down because of the

[1] The session was probably held in the Guard Room, as the garden was easily accessible.

[2] That is, the oath under the Act of Supremacy: see *supra*, p. 82.

[3] Cf. ch. viii, p. 103, *infra*.

heat in that time." In the room with him were waiting some of Cranmer's entourage, chaplains and learned doctors, and from time to time prisoners passed to and from their examination, or the London clergy who, without apparent demur, had taken the fateful oath. More sat apart unobserved and to divert the heavy hours watched critically every incident, half-sad and half-amused. "I saw Latimer verie merrie," he tells his daughter, "for he laughed and tooke one or twaine about the necke so handsomely that if they had been women I would have weened he had waxed wanton. After that came maister doctor Wilson forth from the lords, and was by two gentlemen brought by me; and was gentlemanlike sent to the Tower." The hours dragged by: a rumour reached him that "all the remnant of the priests of London that were sent for were sworne." The Council made their path easy; "they were not suffered to dance long attendance to theire great travaile and cost, as suitors are wont to doe, but were sped apace to theire comforts; so farr forth," and again the irresistible humour flashed out for a moment, "so farr forth that maister Vickar of Croydon, for gladness or for dryness, or ells that it might be sene quod ille notus erat pontifici, went to my lord's butterie barr and called for drinks and dranke valde familiariter." At last, when these "had played their pageant and were all gone," More again received his summons. There was a repetition of the earlier scene; More, always unshaken though to none, not even to his daughter, would he divulge "anie speciall cause of the oath" that grieved his conscience; his interlocutors specious or persuasive, or in some cases bent on saving from his own conscience so great an Englishman. "Master Cromwell my verie good friend," says More himself, with a touch of bitter irony, "swore a great oath that he had lever that his owne onlie sonne had lost his head then that thus I should have refused the oath." In the end he was committed to the Abbot of Westminster and four days later, on April 15, 1534, to the Tower.[1]

[1] See Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, vol. ii, pp. 139-143. More was beheaded on Tower Hill, July 6, 1535.

(iii) THE FALL OF ANNE BOLEYN

Cranmer remained Archbishop *de facto* for about eighteen months. Then for five years [1535-40] his primatial powers were exercised by Thomas Cromwell, dominating the will of the weaker man and making him the tool of a relentless master. During that time Cranmer appeared at Lambeth only at moments of crisis, although these were sufficiently frequent. In the third year of Anne Boleyn's miserable marriage the fate she had plotted for others suddenly overtook the Queen herself, and she was sent by Henry's command a prisoner to the Tower. The news reached Cranmer at his country manor of Aldington, in a letter from Cromwell, ordering him peremptorily to proceed at once to Lambeth. Such a command boded no good, and the morning after his arrival Cranmer, full of misgiving, wrote to the King, begging him " not to visit the faults which might be found in the Queen on the Church she had helped to build up." [1] He had scarcely laid down his pen when a messenger arrived summoning him before the Council at Westminster. In the Star Chamber, he learned the substance of the charges against Anne Boleyn, and, being driven into the path of least resistance, acknowledged her guilt as proven. Taking barge again back across the river, he hastened to add a postscript to his former letter, expressing his grief at such evidence of ill-doing. The day after Anne's formal trial, no doubt by the King's request, Cranmer interviewed her at the Tower. What passed between them can never be known. Possibly Cranmer snatched at a last straw to save her life, since her honour he could not save. " When he left her," says Friedman, " she was convinced that she would be pardoned and allowed to leave the country. . . . It is therefore probable that the primate gave her hopes that her life might be spared if she would consent to a divorce."[2] In any case, Cranmer without

[1] Friedman, *Anne Boleyn*, vol. ii, p. 257.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

delay, at nine o'clock the next morning (May 17, 1536) sat in judicial array to bring matters to a formal conclusion. The shameful marriage which he had proclaimed from the ' high gallery,' he now annulled, with added shame and disgrace, " in quodam basso sacello, infra aedes Lambethanas," probably one of the oratories within the house itself.[1] The Lord Chancellor, Charles, Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Oxford and of Sussex, Lord Sandys, Bishop Bonner, Dr. Richard Layton and Thomas Cromwell, were present at the enquiry ; Doctor Richard Sampson appeared for the King, Doctors Nicholas Wotton (afterwards Dean of Canterbury) and John Barbour on behalf of Anne Boleyn.

There is no sure ground for the assertion, based by Froude upon an ambiguous phrase in the preamble of an Act of Parliament, that Anne herself was brought to Lambeth from the Tower to make confession of her unchastity and to hear in person her marriage invalidated.

Such a procedure is inherently improbable, and it was unnecessary, as the Queen was represented by proctors ; while the record of those fateful days is so curiously detailed, that such a striking occurrence is unlikely to have been passed over without comment on the part of contemporary writers. The real feeling of Cranmer towards the erring queen is difficult indeed to gauge with fairness. One incident, recounted years after the event, cannot, in a history of Lambeth, be ignored, though it must be accepted with some reservation : Dr. Alexander Aless, a Leipsic professor, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth described a strange occurrence which he asserted befell him on the day of her mother's execution. About sunrise, in a waking dream, he imagined vividly that he saw Anne Boleyn's headless body. Terror-stricken, he arose in the dawn light and crossed the Thames

[1] It is tempting to suppose the crypt is the place indicated ; but the words ' within the house ' are emphatic, and the crypt seems to have been used chiefly as a storeroom or cellar. Some historians mention the remains of a bakehouse at one end of it. Probably ' bassus ' is here used in the sense of ' inferior ' as compared with the Magna Capella, or simply means not raised upon a crypt.

to Lambeth, where he found Cranmer already about, walking restlessly up and down his garden.

" When the Archbishop saw me," runs Aless' story, " he inquired why I had come so early, for the clock had not yet struck four. I told him the whole occurrence. He continued in silent wonder for awhile and at length broke out into these words, ' Do you not know what is to happen to-day ? ' And when I answered that I had remained at home since the date of the Queen's imprisonment, and knew nothing of what was going on, the Archbishop then raised his eyes to heaven and said, ' She who has been the Queen of England upon earth will to-day become a Queen in heaven.' So great was his grief that he could say nothing more and then burst into tears. . . ."[1]

Of all the memories of Lambeth Garden this glimpse of Cranmer's remorse for the woman he had lifted to a throne and then thrust lower in her extremity—when, as a man, he still believed her innocent of the worst offence, but as Henry's servant and Cromwell's instrument, had not courage to defend her, is the most poignant and the most incomprehensible.

Cranmer again had a hand in Henry's matrimonial tangles, when it fell to his lot to examine, at Lambeth, Henry Manox, who had taught Catherine Howard in her girlhood to play the virginals, fallen in love with her, and become the occasion of her disgrace.[2]

Within a month he was interviewing at the same place the ' Ambassador of Cleve,' on the subject of renewing the King's previous marriage with Anne of Cleves. The Ambassador brought with him letters from Oslynger, vice-chancellor to Anne's brother, the Duke of Cleves. Cranmer cut short the troublesome interview and the emissary's inconvenient questions, and refused to listen to anything he had to say without explicit instructions from the King.[3]

[1] Cal. Foreign Papers R.O., 1303 (Sept. 1, 1559).

[2] Gairdner, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of Henry VIII*, vol. xiv, Nos. 1320, 1321 (Nov. 1541). Catherine was a daughter of Lord Edmund Howard and lived in a neighbouring great house.

[3] Cranmer Memorials (Parker Society), p. 409 (Dec. 13, 1541).

(iv) THE BISHOPS' BOOK

The King having assumed autocracy over the English Church, in the words of Cranmer's most recent biographer, "pursued the task of defining his people's creed," [1] His first essay, the articles, ten in number, "devised by the king's highness' majesty to stable Christian quietness and unity among us,"—articles to which he was "constrained to put his own Pen,"—produced, at least in part, the armed revolt known as the Pilgrimage of Grace in certain of the northern counties. The responsibility was then shifted on to other shoulders; a commission issued to Archbishop Cranmer, the Bishops of London (Stokesley), Winchester (Gardyner), Chichester, Norwich, Ely, Worcester (Latimer), in all nineteen Bishops, eight Archdeacons and seventeen Doctors of Divinity and Law, to meet together and 'set forth a Truth of Religion purged of Errors and Heresies.' [2] The Commissioners sat at Lambeth House, and their method of procedure was to agree collectively upon each exposition under their terms of reference, and to subscribe individually their consent to its adoption. The sittings continued all through the early summer of 1537, some of the Commissioners coming daily across the river. The Bishop of Chichester afterwards described to Thomas Cromwell how he had accompanied my Lord of Durham (Tunstall) in his barge, and how on the way they had discussed 'divers usages of the old Church' contained in an ancient Greek book of ordinances, which Durham carried with him. After the day's business these discussions were resumed; "Often in the gallery at Lambeth, when we departed from my Lord of Canterbury, the late Bishop of London [Stokesley] would be very earnest with me for those old usages, and my Lord of Durham advised the same. The Greek books were only brought out to supply old usages and my Lord of Durham . . . and the late Bishop of London were bent on maintaining as many as they might,

[1] A. C. Deane, *Thomas Cranmer*, p. 134.

[2] Strype, *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, ch. xiii, pp. 51, 52.

especially when they appeared by the Greek Church . . . and were very diligent to search out the old canons in Greek." [1]

Towards the close of July, a severe outbreak of plague occurred in the neighbourhood; the near completion of their work seemed to justify Cranmer in begging the King's permission for himself and his companions to seek some healthier surroundings. "We have made almost an end of our determinations," he wrote to Cromwell, "having subscribed the declarations of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Creed and Ten Commandments . . . . they die almost everywhere in London, Westminster and Lambeth. They die at my gate, even at the next house to me . . . I would fain see the King but fear I shall not, because I come from this smoky air." From Lambeth Cranmer hastened away to his manor-house at Ford. The Commissioners' findings were sent to the King and at his leisure 'diligently perused, corrected and augmented'; they were printed a few months later by Berthelet and published under the title of *the Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man*, better known as the Bishops' Book.[2]

Robert Southwell, Attorney of the Court of Augmentations, was about this time visiting Lambeth, for his accounts include 12s. 2d. for boat hire and his servants' dinners there, when he resorted 'to my Lorde of Canterbury, for the finishing of the exchange between the King's Highness and my said Lord, at divers and sundry times.' [3]

(v) OUR LADY OF WALSINGHAM

1538.—In the spring of the next year occurred one of the stately pageants so often in those far-off days displayed upon the broad highway of the Thames. 'My Lady Wiltshire' was buried at Lambeth on the seventh of April and was carried thither from her house beside Baynard's Castle, laid in a

[1] Gairdner, vol. xv, No. 758 (7th June, 1540).

[2] Strype, *loc. cit.*, p. 51.

[3] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. VIII, app., p. 24*a*.

barge, under a black pall with a great white cross, torches burning and banners flying. The Herald-King-at-Arms attended the requiem, either in Lambeth Chapel or the parish church. My Lord Comptroller was chief mourner of the men and Lady Daubeney of the women.[1]

Cranmer seems not yet to have come into residence again since the epidemic of the preceding summer, for he wrote in June to Cromwell begging him to appoint some other place than Lambeth for the reception of the three Ambassadors of the Lutheran Princes, since he had " no manner of stuff nor provision there."[2] Although lodgings were found for them elsewhere, the emissaries, until well on in the autumn, held daily meetings in the Archbishop's house. In spite of Cranmer's efforts " to draft a revised liturgy on the Lutheran pattern," [3] the negotiations came to nothing and Chancellor Burckhardt and his companions returned to Saxony. There were, however, other directions in which, from their point of view, religion in England was making good progress.[4] The suppression of the monasteries, which had begun with the smaller houses in the summer of 1535, had by now involved the richest and largest. Many famous shrines and places of pilgrimage had been bereft of their central attraction, to the grief and bewilderment of pious souls. A typical record which concerns Lambeth remains in a letter from one Thomas Dorset, curate of St. Margaret, Lothbury, to the Mayor and other friends in Plymouth. He, " havyng nothyng to doo, as an idler went to Lambhethe, to the byshopis place, to see what newis " ; " I toke a whery," he says, " at Pawlis wharffe wherein also was allredye a doctour namyd doctour Creukehorne which was sent for to come to the byshops of Canterbury." Creukehorne was a visionary of no forcible intellect : "And he before the iij byshopis of Canterbury, of Worcestre and Salesbury confessed that he

[1] Gairdner, *loc. cit.*, vol. xiii, pt. i, 717 (April 9, 1538).

[2] Gairdner, vol. xiii, pt. i, 1176.

[3] Smyth, *Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI*, p. 35.

[4] Gairdner, vol. xiii, pt. ii, No. 373 (September 1538).

was rapte into heven, where he see the Trinite settyng in a pall or mantell or cope (call it what you please) of blew color . . . and he spake with our ladye and she toke hym bye the hande . . . and bad hym to preche abrode that she wold be honorid at Eppiswhiche [Ipswich] and at Willisdon as she hath bee in old tymes." Dorset continued to listen idly to the proceedings and even crossed the river again next day to hear Creukehorne, under pressure, deny his vision, and vainly endeavour to " prove purcatory by a certayn vers in the saulter . . . what it was I can nott tell." [1]

But appeals of Our Lady of Ipswich or of Willesden, or even of their more celebrated compeers, to such as poor Creukehorne went unheeded by the iconoclasts. About the time of the Lutheran conference, in the presence of My Lord Chancellor, My Lord Privy Seal, and many ' virtuous prelates,' a strange visitor arrived at Morton's Gateway. This was none other than ' Our late Lady of Walsingham,' an image of world-wide renown, now fallen from high estate. " There was offered," says, cynically, John Husee, Lord Lisle's steward, who alone relates the incident, " neither obit nor candle. What shall become of her is not determined." [2] Of certain mysterious ' travail at Lambeth ' during these days the outcome is unknown. Probably Our Lady of Walsingham was burnt, and other captive ' idols ' were undoubtedly ' broken in pieces.' [3]

(vi) HENRY VIII AND CRANMER

The record of the following year (1539) again sets out with a river pageant. On Holy Thursday eve " the King took his barge at Whitehall and rowed up to Lambeth. He had his drums and fifes playing and rowed up and down the Thames

[1] *Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camden Soc., 1843) Letter XIII, p. 36.

[2] Gairdner, *loc. cit.* vol. xiii, pt. i, 1407 (July 18, 1538).

[3] *Ibid.*, pt. ii, 373. *Note:* Wriothesley's Chron. (Cam. Soc., 1877, p. 78) says that John Forrest, an Observant Friar, who abjured for heresy before Cranmer at Lambeth (May 1538) was burnt at Smithfield together with an ' idol ' brought from North Wales.

for an hour after evensong."[1] The destruction of the monastic houses being now complete, the division of the spoil brought fresh trouble between Henry VIII and the leaders of the Church; "the King," says Strype, "took occasion to be displeased with the Archbishop and the other Bishops of the New Learning because they could not be brought to give their consent in the Parliament that the King should have all the Monasteries suppressed to his sole use." Such opposition could be countered, in Henry's view, only by a fresh display of tyranny. The sanguinary Act of Six Articles, known as the Six String'd Whip, a re-actionary measure which for the moment confirmed the triumph of Bishop Gardyner and his party over the reformers, was introduced without delay. For three days Cranmer disputed against the measure before parliament; at the end of that time the King himself went to the house, and it passed into law. But, as it seemed, nothing could alienate the 'singular favour' with which Henry regarded the man who hitherto had served his ends with a constant loyalty. He professed to be greatly struck by the arguments Cranmer had adduced, and sent Cromwell, with the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and other noble lords, to dine at the Archbishop's table at Lambeth, and "somewhat to comfort againe his grieved minde and troubled spirit." The company sat together in friendly converse, bandying compliments upon Cranmer's merits, until one of them offended Cromwell by drawing comparisons to the Archbishop's advantage between him and Cardinal Wolsey, Cromwell's former patron, so that "greate and high words rose between them."[2]

When his troublesome guests had departed Cranmer put his arguments against the Act into shape and ordered his secretary to copy them fairly into a book for the King's use. This book was written "in the secretarie's chamber, where in a by chamber lay the Archbishop's almosiner"—rooms

[1] Gairdner, vol. xiv, pt. i, No. 967 (May 15, 1539).

[2] Cromwell, Earl of Essex. Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, vol. ii, pp. 265 and 284.

which cannot now be identified. It had an adventurous history ; the writer, Ralph Morice, in Cranmer's absence at Croydon, put it under his girdle for safe keeping and took a wherry over to Westminster. A bear-baiting was going on in the river off Bankside and one of the bears broke lose, and attacked the wherry ; in the struggle the book dropped from the loosened girdle into the water and floated away. The bearward picked it up and it finally came into Cromwell's hands and was restored to Cranmer, while Morice had to make a fair copy for the King.

The visit of Cromwell and the lords was not the only occasion of the King's intervention on Cranmer's behalf, or of his displaying a particular interest in his welfare. When the Prebendaries of Canterbury presented a series of articles accusing their Archbishop of heretical views, Henry hid the book in his sleeve, took barge up the river and greeted Cranmer, who stood at Lambeth Stairs to salute his royal master, with a good-humoured jest. " Oh my Chaplen," he said, " I have newis for you : I knowe nowe who is the gretest Heretique in Kent," and he handed to him the condemnatory roll, bidding him hold a commission of enquiry himself. Another of Cranmer's slanderers, Sir John Gostwick, was driven post-haste to Lambeth by the King's threat of dire vengeance if he made no apology nor withdrawal of his charges.

A rumour was at one time put about that " the Archbishop kept no Hospitality . . . correspondent unto his Revenues and Dignity but sold his Woods, and by great Incomes and Fines made money to purchase Lands for his Wife and Children." This story was encouraged to afford a handle whereby the King might substitute for the Bishops' temporalities ' an honest pension of money yearly ' with which to entertain strangers. But, for once, Henry's cupidity was not aroused ; he took an early occasion to send Sir Thomas Seymour, his informant, on an errand to Lambeth, to summon Cranmer to court and incidentally to judge of the truth of his statements. The loyal Morice relates the little episode with vivid detail, bringing before our eyes the scene in Cranmer's

hospitable hall, and the prating squire's discomfiture at what he discovered there. " Incontinently Mr. Seymor, came to Lambeth, and being brought into the Hall by the Porter, it chanced the Hall was set to Dinner. And when he was at the Skreen and perceived the Hall furnished with three principal Messes, beside the rest of the Tables thorowly set, having a guilty Conscience of his untrue Report made to the King, recoiled back, and would have gone in to my Lord by the Chappel-way ; Mr. Nevyl being Steward, perceiving that, rose up and went after him, and declared unto him that he could not go that way ; and so brought him back unto My Lord through the Hall. And . . . my Lord caused him to sit down and dine with him. But making a short dinner, because he would bring the King word again of his Message, he departed, and came to the King, before he was risen from the Table."

To this incident, and to his respect for Cranmer's generosity, was due, Morice declares, Henry's determination to leave the clergy in undisturbed possession of their revenues. Morice does not, however, deny that Cranmer sold his woods, for hospitality such as he exercised could not be maintained without great expenditure. For some twenty years he had almost continually to entertain the commissions of divines who sat at Lambeth to determine religious controversy, " some of them daily in Diet with him, some evermore living in his House . . . " Nor were these his only guests : to the upper room, where he often dined in comparative privacy, he invited the Nobility and Persons of Quality and was " very honourably served, both with dishes and attendants." The ' three Messes ' which Seymour had noticed in the Great Hall, three tables plentifully furnished, were reserved for the Archbishop ; for the Almoner, with whom sat the chaplains and all clerical guests of less rank than diocesan bishops or abbots ; and for the Steward, by whom the lay visitors were entertained.

Cranmer drew up a " Constitution for moderating the Fare of Bishops' Tables," no doubt strictly applicable at his

own ; his rules limited the number of dishes served according to precedence ; for an Archbishop six kinds of flesh, or as many dishes of fish on fast days ; for a Bishop not more than five. The contents of each dish were also regulated. " Of the greater Fish or Fowl, as Cranes, Swans, Turkies, Hadocks, Pike, Tench, there should be but one in a dish " ; an Archbishop might enjoy three partridges at one meal, a Bishop and others of less rank but two ; the number of blackbirds were ' stinted to six ' at an Archbishop's table, four at a Bishop's ; while no one of any rank might have more than six larks or ' snytes ' set before him.[1]

(vii) UNDER EDWARD VI

Cranmer is seen at his best in yet another phase of hospitable entertainment. He had been engaged for some years in drafting a liturgy for the English Church, completely revised after the principles of the reformed religion ;[2] he now invited the most prominent of the foreign Reformers to come to Lambeth and assist him in the compilation of the English Prayer Book. Some of these scholars (as we are reminded in a recent monograph upon this intricate period of our Church's history) had already arrived in England, whether as exiles from persecution in the Emperor's dominions, or merely as travellers ; others came, as occasion offered, at Cranmer's invitation. Peter Martyr, the Italian nobleman and erstwhile Augustinian Abbot, with his wife and his servant Giulio ; the learned Jew of Ferrara, Master Immanuel (Tremellio) with his wife ; the Sienese preacher, Bernardino Ochino ; Peter Alexander, lately Chaplain to Mary of Burgundy, Regent of the Netherlands ; Dryander, the Spaniard, and certain ' godly Frenchmen ' ; were all at some time, if not all at the same time, guests in Cranmer's cosmo-

[1] Strype, p. 451.

[2] A legend at Lambeth, for which no historic foundation appears to exist, declares that he wrote the Prayer Book in a room adjoining the Chapel, within the Tower, which, also without documentary evidence, bears his name.

politan household.[1] À Lasco was at Lambeth in September 1548 and again in 1550 for many months.[2] Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius stayed with the Archbishop for long periods on terms of intimate friendship and were employed by him in learned conferences, in composing theological theses, and in annotating the Scriptures. Cranmer directed their preparation for the professorial lectures they were to deliver at Oxford and Cambridge, choosing the subject-matter, and urging the duty of interpreting the Scriptures in close agreement with the Hebrew text.[3] Glimpses of those days of congenial study and sympathetic companionship may from time to time be recaptured in the reformers' correspondence ; we hear of Roger Ascham's visit to Bucer to ask his intercession with the Princess Elizabeth, because some of her following had treated Ascham uncivilly ; or again Fagius writes to a friend abroad to bring songs with him to England for " We often sing here at the Archbishop's, who is extremely fond of music," [4] or, repeatedly, the exiles' high appreciation of Cranmer's unfailing fatherly kindness to them ' as brethren not as dependents ' is gratefully described. During these years another guest made his home in the Archbishop's household. " There is moreover," writes Peter Alexander to Fagius, " that aged bishop, Master Latimer," and Latimer himself, in a sermon preached before Edward VI, tells of his walks in Lambeth garden, " looking in my book, as I can do but little good at it, but something I must needs do, to satisfy this place." " I am no sooner in the garden and have read awhile," he continues, " but by and by cometh there some one or other knocking at the gate. And cometh my man and saith ' Sir, there is one at the gate would speak with you ! ' " [5]

Towards the close of Edward VI's reign, Bishops

[1] C. H. Smyth, *Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI*, p. 38 ; and Original Letters, Parker Society, *passim*.

[2] Smyth, pp. 189-196.

[3] Strype, pp. 194 *et seq.*

[4] Smyth, *loc cit.*, pp. 160-1.

[5] Wheatley and Cunningham, *London Past and Present*, p. 127.

Latimer and Hooper were witnesses at the examination of Bishop Bonner at Lambeth before Cranmer, Ridley, the Dean of St. Paul's, and the Archbishop's two secretaries. Bonner, throughout the seven sessions, 'carried himself disdainfully,' and gave his replies in 'a bold, scoffing manner'; for his obstinacy he was sentenced to deprivation and suffered a prolonged imprisonment in the Marshalsea, a sentence which his proud spirit was to visit upon Cranmer in the mournful days of the succeeding reign.[1]

(viii) AN ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSEHOLD

Sets of rules for the government of an archiepiscopal household are preserved at Lambeth; some of them belonging to Archbishop Cranmer's time were afterwards adapted and modified by his successors.[2] The arrangements for provisioning were so elaborate that the caterer needed indeed to be "a man of reason and of substance, having good knowledge in his accates (purchases) and season of the year." Foodstuffs were for the most part produced at home. Thus, in the 'garnett' the grain grown on the manor was stored and carefully overseen by the 'garnatoure' to keep it good and sweet. By him it was delivered to the miller, by tally duly checked at the counting-house. The flour had to be ground so as to remain two or three days in the 'pastry' before it was boulted; a too tardy miller was sent for, punished for his 'evil lyving' or dismissed. In the bake-house the attendant yeoman and groom were expected to make thirty-two loaves, weighing 18 ozs. apiece, out of every bushel of flour supplied them and they baked bread for the horses as well as for my lord. Their loaves might not be carried into the house in a sack but, with dignity, in "a lepe or baskett, there softly to be laid into the bynne yf yt be hott."

The archiepiscopal flocks and herds, carefully driven from pasture to pasture—haste and over-driving were strictly forbidden—supplied the table with abundance of "Bifes,

[1] Strype, p. 189. [2] Lambeth MSS. 884, *passim*.

Muttons and Veales " ; their hides and pelts were marketed. Some of the preparations are remarkable. A groom of the squillery (scullery) or ' sawcery ' was enjoined in season to gather crabs (can it have been on the Thames shore ?), ' stamp ' or crush them, and make of them ' veriuis ' (ver-juice) for household use. The same official collected in a vessel the ' broken voynes ' and compounded as much vinegar as the clerk of the kitchen demanded. But daintier edibles were not lacking ; there were fruits, cheese, and junkets ; " Gellies, Pottage and other subtilties," flavoured with a dash of wine. The empty " buttes of malmsey and rumney " were saved, " for My Lord to carry books, and other things."

For reasons all too plain, the cook was enjoined to keep " my Lord's privie kytchyn for his owne mouth, and his meate to be drest apart, holsomely and seasonably." No stranger was allowed into the privy kitchen or " nigh to my Lord's vitaill for his mouth." Tips and perquisites were strictly controlled. In the spicery no ' fees ' were permitted save " emptie pottes of greene ginger, succad bagges and boxes " which could not have been very profitable. In the buttery no ' chipping ' might be taken before the maid was served for her hens, or the ' haultere ' boy for his spaniels ; even the candle-ends were sacrosanct. On grounds both of economy and morality no servant, in any department, was allowed to " take vitaille of credaunce " (that is, on credit), " for by reason thereof the Lorde runneth not onely into great infamy and sclaunder, but also susteyneth greate losse." Nothing could be filched out of ' exemes ' or gifts in kind to the Archbishop, for these also, to the last feather, were entered in the comptroller's book, priced to the clerk of the kitchen and issued out accordingly. The insistence on cleanliness is a rebuke to the idea that our forefathers had no use for the washtub. The lavender washed for chapel, hall, and chambers, and the clothes under his hand were neither to be " changed, brent, torne nor rent in wasshing nor ringing, pulling nor dryeing." The soiled sheets were not to be

cast into corners, and so lost or forgotten, but after washing, "cleanely layd up with sweete herbes in a chest, iij or iiij daies at the lest before they be occupied."

When my Lord went on progress from manor to manor, through the diocese, his every step was hedged about with officialdom; the humblest servant knew his precedence, and where his night's lodging was prescribed. "Every personne of household," the orders ran, "at such seasons as my Lord rideth, ryde not out of my Lord's company, except such as shal be appoynted with the sumpter horse, officers, purvisors, and others assigned by the head officers for preparing of vitalls and other stuffs. And every of the officers ride according to their degrees, head officers next unto my Lord, except the crosse-bearer. And next after my Lord, Doctors and Chaplaines. And then yeomen, and after them gromes, pages and mules." Care was taken that in every town visited some accommodation was left for other travellers. And so the solemn cavalcade moves out beneath the archway of Morton's Gate and the horses' heads are turned eastward towards the Kentish lanes.

CHAPTER VII

LAMBETH UNDER MARY AND ELIZABETH

(i) CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP POLE

Reginald Pole, 1554-58.—After the accession of Queen Mary, in July 1553, Cranmer lived on at Lambeth for a few weeks virtually as a prisoner ; in August he was before the Council, ' about the Lady Jane's Business ' ; in September he was sent to the Tower, whither Archbishop Holgate of York soon followed. The English Church was thus without a head—the Sovereign being a woman, and both the Archbishops deposed—and it lay at the mercy of Stephen Gardyner, Bishop of Winchester, the Lord Chancellor. Cranmer's successor, the Queen's cousin, Cardinal Reginald Pole, did not arrive in England till fourteen months after Mary's accession. Pole, whose mother, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, was a niece of Edward IV, after refusing to acquiesce in the royal divorce, had taken refuge in Rome from Henry VIII's displeasure. He was attainted, but escaped the death-penalty suffered by his mother and his elder brother, Lord Montacute. His attainder was reversed when he landed at Dover, and three days later, arrayed in official robes of crimson with a square crimson cap, he came up from Gravesend to Westminster by river, in a state-barge bearing the ensign of a silver cross. After a formal reception in Queen Mary's chamber he re-embarked and went on to " his Place at Lambeth, lately Archbishop Cranmer's, and so to Dinner." Lambeth House had been refurnished for his reception at the Queen's command ; one writer declares that there hung over his stall in the

LAMBETH PALACE, NORTH FAÇADE, 1784.

"Pole's Gallery can be seen, with the bay-window added by Archbishop Moore, the piazza beneath, and the windows of Archbishop Cranmer's dining-room over the Steward's parlour." From an engraving by Godfrey in Ducarel's History of the Palace.

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chapel a crimson velvet canopy with his arms embroidered in gold and coloured silks ; that the altar curtains were of cloth-of-silver powdered with the queen's emblems, the pomegranate, rose and sheaf of arrows ; and that three lamps of Venetian silver burned in the sanctuary, while the alabaster figures of the Blessed Virgin and St. Gregory on either side the altar had been repaired.[1]

The rooms which had seen gatherings of the reformers and Cranmer's labours upon the Prayer-Book and the translation of the Scriptures now witnessed scenes typical of the return to the Roman obedience which Mary so ardently desired.

Advent Sunday, December 2, 1554.—Pole received at Lambeth a deputation of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen inviting him to attend a solemn thanksgiving at St. Paul's.[2] Strype says also that the popular procession on St. Nicholas Day was forbidden because the newly-arrived Cardinal had summoned the Bishops and inferior clergy to Lambeth there to be absolved from their perjuries, schisms and heresies, and that, in spite of the prohibition, effigies of the saint went about the parishes of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and St. Nicholas, Bread Street, " because the citizens were so much taken with the mock St. Nicholas." [3]

Early in the new year there were disciplinary sessions of the Legatine Synod, " apud Lambhith in superiori camera," when Pole exhorted the Bishops to use their flocks with gentleness and if possible restore them to the true faith without undue rigour. The proceedings concluded with a solemn mass of the Trinity in the chapel, before a crowded congregation of clergy and lay-people, when Master Watson, the preacher, gave notice of prorogation till the following autumn.[4]

When summer-time made fresh and green the pastures lying south of the Thames, Queen Mary, not seldom, in the

[1] Lee, *Life of Cardinal Pole*, 1888, p. 187.

[2] Cott. Lib. Vitellius F.V. sub anno 1554, quoted Lee, *loc. cit.*, p. 149.

[3] Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. iii, p. 205. [4] Wilkins, vol. iv, p. 132.

late afternoon, took her barge across to Lambeth, to 'my Lord Cardinal's Place.' There the Archbishop joined the retinue of lords and knights and attended her chariot on horseback as she "rid through St. George's Fields into Newington, and so over the fields towards Eltham." Her visits were heralded by the bells ringing out from Lambeth Tower, which summoned a conflux of people, as many, it is said, as ten thousand, to see her Grace.[1] In the winter she dined at Lambeth with the Cardinal and the Privy Council on her way to keep her Christmas at Greenwich.[2]

The Legatine Council met again 'in ædibus nostris Lambethi' when Pole's brief and terrible primacy had almost run its course.[3] He survived his royal mistress barely forty-eight hours. A fragmentary MS. in the Cotton Collection gives a glimpse of the stately funeral procession to Canterbury Cathedral where his grave was made in Becket's Crown, at the extreme east end.

"The XIX day of November," it runs, "ded betwyn v and vi in ye morn . . . my lord cardenall polle at lambeth, and he was byshop of Canterberye, and ther he lay tyll ye consell sett ye tyme . . . [he] shuld be bered and when and wher. The sam day all London song and sayd Te Deum laudamus in evere chyrche in london."[4] Pole's biographer adds that his body was put into a leaden coffin, and lay in a chamber of Lambeth Palace, which, for forty days, was hung with black. An altar was placed in the room, and several masses were said daily for his soul's repose.[5]

Some remains of Pole's era, alternately overlooked and rediscovered by succeeding generations, were long stored in the muniment chamber at Lambeth. These were the habit of a priest, a chasuble, stole and maniple of fine shot silk, together with a metal crucifix, a rosary, and a box, sealed and in-

[1] Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. iii, p. 304. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 310.

[3] Wilkins, vol. iv, p. 151.

[4] Cotton MSS. Vitellius F.V.; cf. Machyn's Diary (Cam. Soc., 1848), p. 178.

[5] Phillips, *Life of Reginald Pole*, vol. ii, p. 279.

scribed to the effect that it contained relics of St. Bartholomew, part of the thigh bone of St. Matthew, the skull of St. Apollonia, virgin and martyr, all duly approved and attested.[1]

(ii) WORKS UNDER CRANMER AND CARDINAL POLE

The last considerable additions to the buildings of the manor described here were made under Cardinal Morton: the succeeding century contributed little of importance. Archbishop Warham declared in his will that he had spent £30,000 " in repairing and beautifying his houses with fair buildings," and on that account he asked that his successor should make no claim for dilapidations against his executors. How much of this large sum was expended at Lambeth, how much at Croydon or elsewhere is not specified, but some record of any considerable building due to Warham's munificence would undoubtedly have survived.

Archbishop Cranmer probably began the alterations in the northern façade, completed by his successor, Cardinal Pole.

A hint in the record of Sir Thomas More's trial suggests a possible reason why the rebuilding of this very ancient portion of the manor-house had become necessary. More's judges, finding they could not shake his determination, sent him, from the Guard Chamber, into the garden to think matters over. The day being very hot he went instead into the " old burnt chamber that looketh into the garden " ; incidentally we also hear that there was a buttery-hatch close at hand: the descriptions answer to the Magna Camera itself. As a result of some fire, either during Warham's tenure, or early in his own primacy, Cranmer evidently rebuilt the eastern end of the Great Chamber and placed there the Great Parlour, called in the seventeenth century

[1] *Lambeth Palace Illustrated*, E. W. Brayley and W. Herbert (1806), p. 32. Cf. Benson, *Life of Archbishop Benson*, vol. ii, p. 583. They are now displayed in a corridor of the Palace.

the ' Dyninge Parlour ' and in the eighteenth the ' Steward's Parlour.'[1] Cranmer had also an upstairs private dining room for his own use,[2] which would seem to correspond with the ' Dyninge Chamber ' above the ' Dyninge Parlour " of the later (1647) Survey. The fashion for very lofty apartments had gone by, and rooms on two storys were now fitted in where once the magnificent old Chamber had stood. Cranmer may also have built the tower adjacent to his parlour on the east, over the vestry, with a chamber looking into the chapel and rooms on three upper storys. This tower traditionally bears his name, although no contemporary documents attest the fact ; recent writers are inclined to think the style of the building points to rather a later date, and they attribute it to Cardinal Pole.[3] Cranmer undoubtedly erected in the garden a solar or summer-house of much charm, after the design of his chaplain, Dr. John Ponet, a man of artistic tastes.

It remained for Cardinal Pole to complete the transformation of the old Great Chamber. This he did by constructing a long gallery " with some few rooms adjoining," on an upper level, and beneath it a sort of verandah opening into the garden, an idea no doubt derived from his experience of Italian houses ; although, with its northern aspect, his piazza lacked the sunny warmth of the original.

Pole's Gallery was a magnificent room, 90 feet long by 16 feet broad, wainscotted with ' mantled carving ' or, as we should say, linenfold panelling. In the windows were coats of arms of the several Archbishops ; one of these is described in a contemporary polemic (1565) as the figure " symbolic of the Cross " (probably a representation of the

[1] Ducarel, p. 15. He quotes from a MS. note in *Antiq. Britan.* under *Archbishop Cranmer* : " Coenaculum inferius (hodie dictum the Great Parlour) apud Lambeth construxit." A ' Steward's Room ' of some size is shown on Ducarel's Map adjoining to the east the Piazza, or terrace-walk beneath Pole's Gallery.

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 94.

[3] P. M. Johnston, *Crypt and Chapel of Lambeth Palace*. (Surrey Arch. Collns., vol. xxxii), p. 136 (1919).

pallium) which " our countryman and late Cardinal M. Poole placed in the glass windows of his new gallery at Lambeth." [1] Another was probably the shield of Philip II of Spain, husband of Queen Mary, but this was removed to the library over the cloister. In the gallery Pole placed three fine pictures, namely the Four Fathers of the Western Church, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine and St. Gregory, with a dove hovering above them ; an Ecce Homo ; and an illustration of St. John x, 1-2, representing " the Pope and Friars climbing up to get in at the windows."[2] Although re-hung by Cardinal Pole, it is possible that the first of these, the Four Fathers, a work of the Flemish School of the fifteenth century, forming originally the centre of a triptych, was brought to Lambeth by Archbishop Chichele, who dedicated to the same four saints the chapel in his College of All Souls, Oxford.[3] In Laud's time all three pictures were still in the Palace, and he had to defend himself against a charge of having introduced them. One only now remains, the Pope and Friars having disappeared before the close of the eighteenth century.

The new gallery henceforth took the place of the old one above the cloister, where leaders of the church, for generations, had paced to and fro engaged in earnest talk.

Eighteenth-century pictures of Lambeth show a tower, corresponding to Cranmer's tower, on the west corner of the gallery : this may have been also of Pole's building. We know there was at the west end of the gallery, *temp.* James I. " A little studie . . . on the left hand " ; and " the l[ord's] Chamber towards the orchard," to which the large barred window in the same pictures may have given light. There were also three chambers " on the backe of the gallery," which was narrower than the Great Chamber, as well as shorter, and did not occupy the whole width of the

[1] *Calfhill's Answer to Martiall*, Parker Soc., 1846, p. 105.

[2] Ducarel, p. 44.

[3] Cave-Brown, p. 193.

building: these three rooms, wainscotted like the gallery itself, were probably

> " a studie with cubberds in yt
> a bed-chamber
> the chameberlain's chameber neare the l [ord's] chamber."[1]

The whole suite more or less corresponded to that which had always been reserved for the Archbishop's private use.

Against the garden-wall the Cardinal is traditionally believed to have planted two fig-trees, of the variety known as ' White Marseilles.' Even in an inhospitable climate they flourished to a great age. In the mid-eighteenth century Ducarel says that they still bore delicious fruit, and covered a wall-surface of fifty feet in height and forty in breadth, with a stem of 28 and 21 inches' circumference respectively. Early in the nineteenth century they were twice cut to the ground by severe frost: but the branches shot out again luxuriantly and there is still in Lambeth courtyard a fig-tree reputed to be of their stock.[2]

Thanks to an inventory taken after the Cardinal's death,[3] one may gather an intimate idea of the arrangement and plenishings of the rooms in the mid-sixteenth century. Every member of the household of any position had for his use not only a sitting-room opening into an inner bed-chamber, but another chamber for his attendant.

There was, " the Clerke of the kechyns chambre, and the chambre for his man "; " the Clerk Comptroller's chambre and his man's chambre "; " the Mr. Cooke's chambre and his boyes chambre "; and so forth: in all 84 different apartments are enumerated.

It is interesting to notice how many foreigners Pole employed in his household; among the servants are mentioned a certain Ergo and a Lombard unnamed; of better position were Mr. Marcantonye, Mr. Dominico, Mr. Donato,

[1] Ducarel, p. 84.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 77. Cf. Shoberl, *Beauties of England and Wales* (1813), vol. xiv (Surrey), p. 80.

[3] *Dom. S. P. Eliz.*, vol. i, 10, 11 (Nov. 21, 1558).

Mr. Wynarda, Mr. Delgado, Mr. Stella and 'olld Mr. Baptista.' 'My Lord Pryoly,' that is Pole's devoted friend, the Venetian Aloisius Priuli, had his allotted room.[1] The Cardinal introduced at Lambeth some customs from Rome not hitherto usual in English archiepiscopal establishments; for example, rooms were set apart for Mr. Mathew of the Credence and his man; his office was no doubt to test for poison the dishes reserved on a certain credence, or side-board, distinguished by a red cloth, before they were handed to the Cardinal. There was now also a 'Dateries' Chamber, the datery or datarius being an officer of the Roman Chancery who despatched the Pope's Bulls.

An apothecary, a 'Muliter,' a 'Gayler,' and an 'Amner' (almoner) all had accommodation in the manor-house. Among the residents were the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, Lord Henry Neville, an ardent supporter of the counter-reformation, and 'Mr. Neville,' who had been Cranmer's steward, and was perhaps the father of Alexander Neville (b. 1544), afterwards secretary to Archbishops Grindal and Parker, the occupant of an apartment in Morton's Tower. The furniture of the rooms was more or less ornate according to the owner's rank; many of the tapestries and hangings had evidently seen long service, and represented the fashions of a bygone day. 'My Lorde Nevell his Chambre' was adorned with 'two peeces of hangings of verders,' a carpet of 'olld arras' in the window, a Spanish blanket and a counterpoint (bedspread) of arras; in the old Comptroller's Chamber were 'Hangings of Imagerye worke'; the Audience Chamber over the gate, in Morton's Tower, was furnished with "eight curtens of greene say in the window, two cusshins, a joyned chayer and two joyned stooles." It may be of interest to give the complete furniture of one of the best rooms, inhabited by my lord of St. Asaph; and, by way of contrast, the contents of Richard of the larder's chamber, which are quite typical of the ordinary bedroom furniture in use.

[1] Cf. T. Phillips, *History of the Life of Reginald Pole*, vol. ii, p. 276.

(*i*) *My Lorde of St. Asaph's Chambre.*

Ffayer peces of hangings with pictures.
A Joyned bedsted with two curtens of Silke.
A fetherbed, bolster, pillow and a payer of sheets and blanket.
A counterpoint of tapestrie woorke.
A great chayer wth greene clothe
A little boord wth a carpet of Darnixe.[1]
A Joyned stoole.

(*ii*) *Richard of the Larder's Chambre.*

A pallet of straw.
A mattress.
A fetherbed wth a bolster.
A payer of sheets.
A coverlet of tapestrie.
A little boord with trestles.

In all the rooms bedding seems to have been more abundant than any other kind of furniture.

The kitchen was, however, well provided, and it is an interesting corollary to the many Lambeth feasts to see, behind the scenes, the implements which, in skilful hands, produced an array of lordly dishes.

In the kitchen were to be found :

Six brasse pots.
Aleven pannes.
Eight setles.
Ffrynge pannes fyve.
Five rounde pannes of latten.
A longe panne wth two handles.
A baking panne.
Five tart pannes.
A dripping panne of brasse.
Five scoopes of brasse.
Three collanders of latten.
Two latten plates.
Fowerteene square spites of the greater sort
And eight of the lesser sort.

[1] An obs. form of Dornick, a woollen fabric for hangings, made at the town of that name in Flanders. (*Oxf. Dict.*)

Ffower rounde spites.
Two payer of great Iron tackes.
Three schymmers.
Three latten ladles.
A coorser knyffe.
Two dressing knyffes.
Fower chopping knifes.
A grate of white plate.
Two fyer shovelles.
Two peelers.
Two mynsyng knyfes.
A fillinge ladle.
An Iron with eight feet to set pots on.
A tryfoot.
Ffower greedyerns.
An Iron morter wth a pestle.
Two stone morters.
A payer of feeldrackes.
An Iron beame wth a payer of schales.
Eight weightes of lead weying one hundreth poundes.
A table with two leaves.
And certen olld tubbes.

Cardinal Pole's own wardrobe made up in magnificence what was lacking in the furniture which he had inherited from his predecessors; the pontifical gowns of chamlet, one red, one purple; the pontifical cloaks of cloth, one red, one purple; the pontifical cloak-bags of purple cloth, embroidered with my Lord's arms; the trappings for the pontifical mule and footcloths for the horse when he rode out with his cousin, the Queen, all of the same stately hues; the pavilions of white cloth with 'prochemers' of gold and tops of red silk, or of purple taffeta, borne ceremoniously above the red hat; the carpets of needlework or of purple velvet beneath his feet; the bed-curtains and coverlets of crimson damask or of rayed silk which sheltered his uneasy slumbers; all these splendours, however familiar to the dark-eyed Italians of his following, must have amazed the Englishmen, and filled with an unwonted glow of colour the galleries of the old manor-house.

(iii) ARCHBISHOP MATTHEW PARKER

Matthew Parker, 1558-1576.—How strangely, even after the lapse of centuries, the atmosphere of a historic house changes in relation to the student poring over the records of succeeding owners. The histrionic splendours, the bitter tragedy of a Pole are succeeded by the strong homely wisdom and upright industry of a Parker. What could afford a greater contrast to the elaborate ceremonial of Pole's mass of the Trinity in the crowded chapel, than the consecration, performed almost exactly five years later, " chastly and religiously according to the purity of the Gospel," which Parker had such pleasure in remembering. It took place in an early morning of December, when, at five or six o'clock, day can scarce have broken, and the four torches carried before the Archbishop Elect, as he entered the chapel by the west door in his long scarlet gown and hood, mingled with the cold light of dawn. The building seems to have been empty save for the kneeling figures of the four consecrating bishops, William Barlow, John Scory, Miles Coverdale and John Hodgkin, Suffragan of Bedford, and a few officials and members of Parker's household : the chaplain, Andrew Pierson, recited the morning office in a clear voice. In place of Queen Mary's delicate broideries the east end of the chapel was now hung with tapestry and the floor spread with red cloth. Scory's sermon ended, the consecration service proceeded. The vestments of those who ministered symbolised a period of ecclesiastical unsettlement, for Barlow, now Bishop Elect of Chichester, celebrated the holy mysteries vested in a silken cope ; Bishop Scory and Parker himself wore surplices and chimeres of black silk ; Hodgkin and Miles Coverdale had only their long cloth gowns.

Immediately after the ceremony, the Archbishop went back towards the west door, and invested the steward, treasurer and comptroller of his household with their white staves of office. Later in the day he entertained, with

a splendour befitting the occasion, many honourable guests, and among them Lord Howard of Effingham, afterwards Lord High Admiral of England, who claimed kinship with the son of the calender, Citizen Parker of Norwich.

(iv) THE REFORMATION IN MINISTERS' HABITS

Parker was faced as he entered upon his high office with the kind of tasks which must always be the aftermath of any great break with the past, the lesser and yet essential tasks of re-organisation and the orderly re-adjustment of detail.

From this point of view the articles, agreed on at his second session of Convocation at Lambeth, are significant of the difficult conditions with which he must grapple. For instance, the bishops were to enjoin on ministers and readers in their dioceses ' abstinence of mechanical sciences,' that is, the clergy must return to their proper clerical duties and abandon the crafts by which, in times of unsettlement, they had been compelled to earn their bread ; at the same time provision for the proper payment of their stipends was made.

In order to uphold the standard of clerical erudition, curates and ministers were to be examined upon their qualifications. Old service books, the " grailes and antiphoners," which had been brought back into use in Mary's reign, were to be " defaced and abolished," and the lay-folk and the children instructed by suitable catechisms, one specially written in Latin being prepared for use in the grammar-schools.

An attempt to remedy the lack of uniformity in clerical dress so noticeable at Parker's consecration, which had been indeed a subject of complaint long before, was made by the issue of a book appointing (in Stow's words) " ye sayd mynistars to were theyre gownes, and clokes with standynge colars, and corneryd capse, and at theyr servyse to were syrplysys or els not to mynystar."[1] The new ordinances

[1] *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles.* Stow's Memoranda (Cam. Soc., 1880), p. 135.

were accepted with great reluctance by the negligent clergy of London, who habitually either allowed the sexton, in his ordinary coat, to perform divine service, or read it themselves arrayed in cloaks with turn-down collars, their hats on their heads, like any Puritan of later days. In order to enforce the new rules, Parker summoned the city clergy to Lambeth, there to make subscription of obedience. It was an impressive gathering. The Archbishop sat with the Bishop of London and other members of the Ecclesiastical Commission appointed to restore discipline, in the Great Hall, while the Bishop's Chancellor addressed the assembled ministers with dramatic effect. "My Masters and the Ministers of London," he said, "the Council's Pleasure is that strictly ye keep the Unity of Apparel like to this Man as you see him." Here he pointed to one of their number, who, after some demur, had complied and stood to view "canonically habited" in square cap, scholar's gown and tippet and, for divine service, a linen surplice. "Ye that will presently subscribe," the Chancellor continued firmly, "write Volo. Those that will not subscribe write Nolo. Be brief—make no Words." Some who tried to start an argument were bidden "Peace, Peace," and the summoner proceeded forthwith to call the roll of London clergy. These resolute steps caused no little astonishment, but out of 140 incumbents who were present only thirty remained obdurate and of these ultimately, after a further meeting and exhortation, a very small number were deprived and obliged to take to husbandry for a living, or go into a voluntary exile.[1]

(v) THEIR GRACES' HOUSEKEEPING

With the accession of Archbishop Parker, Lambeth House for the first time, save for the shadowy figure of Cranmer's wife, had a mistress of the household. Parker had married in 1547 Margaret Harleston, the daughter of an old Norfolk family, after a seven years' courtship, which was necessitated

[1] Strype, *Life of Grindal*, p. 90. Cf. p. 104 (January, 1566).

by the severity of the law, under Henry VIII, against the marriage of persons in orders. The rôle of Lambeth châtelaine could scarcely have been more worthily inaugurated than it was by ' Parker's Abbess,' as his friends called Mistress Parker, in affectionate recognition of her gentle gravity, her piety and her tact. Like most women of her age, she was an admirable housewife. " While Parker was in a Private Capacity," Strype has written, " she shewed her Discretion in her good Houswifry and Frugality. And yet for her Husband's Credit she had all things Handsome about her. But when he was advanced to the high Place of Archbishop of Canterbury, she ordered her House-keeping so nobly and splendidly . . . that all things answered that venerable Dignity . . . neither was her Will nor Industry wanting in the ordering and managery thereof." [1]

Parker had permission from Queen Elizabeth to keep a retinue of forty persons.[2] A set of regulations for governing the archiepiscopal household, based on some earlier ones of Cranmer's time, was drawn up, largely—as one suspects—at Mrs. Parker's instigation.[3] If Parker, who was himself what is called ' a good manager,' emphasised the obligation of a minute keeping of accounts in every department, or with chivalrous courtesy ordained that a drunken servant on a second offence must be turned out of doors as " unworthy her grace's service and the society of his fellow servants," the homelier details, such as the injunction to the sculleryman for the pewter " to wipe the bottomes of such vessels as have been set on the coales before they be delivered to the dresser"; or to the yeoman of the robes to brush, air and mend His Grace's furs ; or to the pantler to keep his leaky taps in order—bear traces of a woman's meticulous care.

The hierarchy of service, from that grand gentleman the steward down to the ' Silver Scullery-maide,' who had all the plate in her keeping, was ordered with the utmost attention to punctuality, frugality and good discipline. The days were

[1] Strype, *Life of Matthew Parker* (1740), bk. i, p. 25. Cf. bk. iv, 206.

[2] Ducarel, appendix, p. 46. [3] *Ibid.*, appendix, p. 29.

mapped out, hour by hour, from the early morning when the comptroller, who was to be up first and the last to retire, made a parade of the offices, stable, kitchen, cellar and buttery, to see that all was in order, until every candle and the last ashes on the hearth were safely extinguished.

The steward had his directions to be in the larder at eight in the forenoon and three in the afternoon to confer with the clerk of the kitchen, ' Mr. Cooke and Caterer,' upon the weighty task of provisioning so great a household ; it was his duty also to insist upon punctuality in his subordinates, on their readiness for meals ' an hour in advance ' and their sedulous attention to allotted tasks. The usher of the hall rang a bell at 6 a.m. in winter and 5 a.m. in summer to warn everyone they must rise and go to work, and again to summon all " to attend on her Grace to morning and evening prayers." During the hours of prayer, as also when the tables were laid ready and the plate served up, the porter, for fear of marauders, had strict orders to close the entrance gates. A careful check-roll of residents was kept, a precaution essential in a rambling house where guests and their attendants were constantly coming and going, and hangers-on might have been a source of danger. Discipline was necessarily strict, though just and kindly. No servant might take leave of absence or sleep out without permission : swearing and other kinds of ill-doing entailed suspension from office until the delinquent had proved himself repentant before the steward and chaplain. Offences against good manners had a punishment to fit the crime : the groom who forgot to uncover before his superiors had his hat removed from his head and nailed to the screen in the hall.

Neatness of person was insisted upon and the greatest care taken that the living rooms, all kitchen utensils, bedding and other household plenishings, were kept scrupulously clean. It was the porter's duty, after the daily distribution of food to indigent folk, to " see the court and passages to and from his gates were kept swept sweete and cleane," the ' almes-tubb,' into which broken meats from the table

were placed, was also " to be kept *sweete and cleane*, before it be used from time to time." This phrase must have been a favourite of Her Grace's, one dreaded perhaps by her domestics, it occurs so often in the household rules. Provisions were purchased in the city-markets by the caterer, who attended early so as to have his choice ; there was abundance of meat roast and baked on the tables, cheese and fruit at all meals, home-made bread baked of wholesome corn or meal.

Out of doors, the horses in the stable were well furnished with provender and the farrier summoned when they required his skill. The garden, which had been a delight to so many generations, was well kept up for their Graces' enjoyment, and the rules for the gardener have, in the London of to-day, a charm of their own. " His office," so the words run, " is to see the garden, orchard and walks to be kept well weeden, rould, the grasse walks and platts not suffered to be much growne but kept lowe with the sythe.

" To see that there be planted in the grounds flowers, hearbs and roots, both for the provision of the kitchen and chambers ; and with all sorts of good fruits, hearbs, plants and flowers for use and pleasure. That he keepe nurseries of all sorts of good plants, to supply any defect that may happen, and that he delve and manure the grounds to the best comodity of the owner."

The entertainment of strangers, from Queen Elizabeth onwards, had its special code and was carried out with stately ceremonial and lavish hospitality. Two gentlemen ushers assisted Her Grace in this department of household routine. They were daily on duty, in or near the withdrawing-room, to receive her orders, to superintend the details of every meal, and, if required, to take a hand at waiting or carving ' for the better instruction of others.'

Besides the two ushers, their Graces' personal suite consisted of two gentlewoman, a chaplain, two secretaries and the master of horse, who all dined at the steward's table. After they were risen from their own board, they accompanied

the steward into the dining-room, " there to attend on their graces till their riseing from the table, to take away stooles and to give cloakes and swords to the noblemen and guests that sitt at the table." Guests on arrival were ceremoniously introduced into their Graces' presence and at their departure, according to their rank, were attended to the entrance gate or merely to the hall door.

Amid this almost regal state a sober and religious spirit constantly prevailed. The duty of all to serve without grudging was inculcated ; and there was a daily ' waiting upon God.' Prayers were said for the assembled household morning, noon and night, at seven o'clock, at half-past ten and at half-past five. The gentleman of the horse, who controlled the outdoor staff, had to see that every man and boy under him went to church on Sunday and to Communion twice in the year.

Parker admitted to his following " Youth of both Qualities, that of Gentlemen and that of the Plebeian Degree. But both sorts well chosen." When they were not in attendance on their Graces, they were encouraged to spend their time in some intellectual pursuit, " as in Reading, making Collections, Transcribing, Composing, Painting, Drawing, or some other Application in Learning or Art." [1] These details were placed on record by Parker's secretary, Alexander Neville, who was an elegant Latinist, and wrote two books, one on Ket's Rebellion, the other on The Antiquities of Norwich. Neville's name,' Alexander Nevyl Secrtr.' with the date 1575, May 17, and the shield of Neville below, is carved on a door-jamb of Morton's Tower in the room which he probably occupied.

(vi) QUEEN ELIZABETH VISITS LAMBETH HOUSE

As Mary had visited her cousin, Cardinal Pole, so—with how great a difference—Queen Elizabeth in royal state paid several visits to Archbishop Parker at Lambeth.

July 29, 1560.—No details remain of a dinner-party

[1] Strype, book iv, p. 502.

attended by the Privy Councillors, beyond the fact that the Queen was just starting on one of her summer progresses and stopped at the Palace on her way from Greenwich to Richmond, Oatlands and other halting-places in Surrey.[1] She took the opportunity of another Lambeth visit to administer 'an affront' to the French Ambassador. Cardinal de Châtillon (the brother of Admiral Coligny, afterwards murdered at Canterbury) was at this time the Archbishop's guest, and he and the Vidame of Chartres, who like himself was an emissary from the Queen of Navarre seeking help for the Protestant cause, were received very graciously in the private room set apart for the royal use, and went freely in and out of Elizabeth's presence. The Ambassador, who actually had an appointment and awaited his summons in the Archbishop's presence chamber, received instead a message to say the Queen was busy and audience would be postponed to another day. Elizabeth did not, in fact, wish to hear the protest he had come to make against the capture of Spanish merchant-sloops, and their despatch, under the English flag, to ravage the high seas in the interests of religious reformation.[2]

On one occasion, towards the close of Parker's Primacy, the Queen invited herself to spend a night or two. The Archbishop's own chronicle of this costly and somewhat embarrassing compliment, enables us to picture the scene :[3] the royal guest arrived at Lambeth on a Tuesday :

" The next day being Wednesday it was usual, as it was the season of Lent, that a Sermon should be preached before the Queen. A pulpit therefore was placed in the quadrangle near the pump and a sermon was delivered by Dr. Pearce. The Queen heard it from the upper gallery that looks towards the Thames ; the Nobility and Courtiers stood in the other galleries which formed the Quadrangle. The people from

[1] Strype, *Life*, p. 85.

[2] *Calendar of Letters from Archives of Simancas*, vol. ii, pp. 145, 154, 180, 280, etc.

[3] Parker, *Antiquities*, p. 557.

below divided their attention between her Majesty and the preacher. When the Sermon was over they went to dinner. The other parts of the house being occupied by the Queen and her attendants, the Archbishop received his guests in the great room next to the garden below stairs. Here on the Tuesday he invited a large party of the inferior Courtiers. In the same room on the Wednesday he made a great dinner ; at his own table sat down nine Earls and seven Barons ; at the other table the Comptroller of the Queen's Household, her Secretary and many other Knights and Esquires, besides the usual table for the great Officers of State, where sat the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, the Chamberlain and others. The whole of this charge was borne by the Archbishop." At four o'clock on the following day the Queen went on to Greenwich.

The scene of Dr. Pearce's sermon was clearly the old cloister, restored by Cardinal Pole, with the galleries which formed its upper story ; while the " great room next the garden " must have been Cranmer's Great Parlour, adjoining Pole's terrace walk.[1]

From time to time a peal of bells from Lambeth church tower gave warning that Her Majesty was about to cross the river and take an airing on horseback in St. George's Fields. The Archbishop dutifully met her on the landing stairs one day when, as it happened, he had incurred her displeasure by too plain speaking. She, however, he says, " gave me her very good looks," but, lest he should mistake her real feelings, " spake secretly in myne ear that she must needs continue myne authority before the people to the credit of my service." This thoughtful diplomacy was quite successful, for the archdeacons in Parker's company were duly impressed by such evidence of royal partiality, whereas, had the Queen manifested her annoyance, " somebody would have looked over the shoulders and slily slipt away to have abashed me before the world."

[1] Cf. p. 104, *supra*.

(vii) PARKER'S DEATH

The Archbishop removed his whole household from Canterbury to Lambeth in the spring of 1570, sailing slowly up the Thames from Sittingbourne. The journey took a long day and was performed with no untoward incident such as that which had threatened many lives when on one occasion holes were found, gouged by some nefarious hand, at several places in the bottom of the archiepiscopal barge.[1] This summer was the last of Parker's domestic happiness; his wife, who had left Canterbury with a misgiving that she should never see it again, died of fever at Lambeth in the middle of August. She was laid to rest in the now-vanished Duke's Chapel in St. Mary's Church, with the inscription in golden letters on her gravestone "Qui credit in Me non morietur in aeternum;" [2] her loss left Parker, so many years her elder, a lonely man.

Few outstanding events are recorded at Lambeth during his remaining years. The chapel saw the confirmation of Bishop Edmund Guest to the Diocese of Salisbury, and the consecration of his successor at Rochester, Dr. John Freak,[3] and of the last Bishop on whom Parker laid his hands, William Blethin, Bishop of Llandaff.[4] The Archbishop was now well past the three-score years and ten; mindful of his chosen motto, "Mundus transit et concupiscentia ejus" he had set in order his affairs, and had prepared the tomb of black marble, with the epitaph, composed by an old friend, which summed up his life's work.

From his deathbed he wrote to Elizabeth the last counsels of a faithful servant for the welfare of the church, and thus, after weeks of weary sickness, in his biographer's words, "he went off this Life as from the Stage of a well-acted Play."

With deep solemnity, the great gentlemen of England to do him honour and long trains of mourning servants in

[1] *Life*, p. 294. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 306.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 332. Stubbs (*Reg. Sac. Angl.*) gives these names as Edmund Freke and Edmund Gheast.

[4] *Ibid.*, *p.* 491.

sombre gowns, his body was laid in the chapel of his consecration on the south side of the altar, to rest there undisturbed for less than a hundred years.

Parker left his ' choral organs ' in the chapel to his successors, as well as the arms and warlike equipment in the armoury, provided no claim for dilapidations was made on his estate. He bequeathed also to the see a large musical instrument in the presence chamber, and two pictures in the gallery, of Warham, painted by Holbein, and Erasmus of Rotterdam.[1]

(viii) GRINDAL AND WHITGIFT

Edmund Grindal, 1576-1583.—After Parker's firm ' writing on the wall,' the memory of his immediate successors at Lambeth House is comparatively indistinct.

The ' Treat at Lambeth ' (as Strype quaintly calls it) on Grindal's accession, that is, the public entertainment he made to great numbers of the nobility and gentry then in London for the session,[2] and his sitting in commission at his manor every Thursday in the forenoon, to mark his ' state ' or dignity above the other commissioners who sat usually in the Consistory Court,[3] are the only episodes specially connected with his eight years' primacy, overshadowed as it was by Elizabeth's displeasure and the long sequestration of the archbishopric. One may surmise that so skilled a horticulturist as, at Fulham, Grindal had proved himself to be, may well have had a special care for the Lambeth garden ;[4] still more readily one may picture among his guests, the figure of Edmund Spenser who loved ' Old Algrind '

> " That whilome was the first shepheard
> And lived with little gayne,"[5]

and resented in biting satire the Queen's treatment of the good old man. But the curtain has fallen for ever on many

[1] Ducarel, p. 221. [2] Strype, *Life of Grindal*, p. 193.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 209. [4] Hook, vol. x, p. 108.
[5] Spenser, *Shepheard's Calender*, Julye.

a scene one would fain recall. Grindal's successor, John Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester, had, it will be remembered, attracted the Queen's notice by his sermons before the Court; indeed, with a characteristic high-handedness she would long since have deprived Grindal and installed her eloquent 'Whitegift' in his room, had the new favourite lent himself to such a proposal. As it was, when the news of Grindal's death actually reached her, she was not averse to a little delay, that the income during the sequestration of the revenues might replenish her coffers.[1] Whitgift, however, before three months had elapsed, was confirmed at Lambeth in presence of the Bishops of London, Peterborough, Lincoln and Salisbury, and entered on his primacy of more than twenty years.[2]

Into the four great controversies which were the distinguishing points in his career, and into the episode of the Lambeth Articles there is little occasion to enter in this place.[3] Whitgift's friends preferred to dwell upon his greatness as a teacher—even at Lambeth he had young scholars at board with him—his impartiality and stern uprightness, his princely hospitality to strangers.

April, 1602.—A tragic event in Whitgift's household brought the Queen once again on a visit of condolence. One of the servants, a man named Boughton, was stabbed and killed, while playing bowls, by his Lordship's page, a son of Sir Thomas Wildford. The culprit made his escape, but the Archbishop was so much grieved at the occurrence that his Royal mistress hastened to Lambeth "to comfort him."[4]

Before Elizabeth's reign ended England again plunged into feverish preparations to withstand a second invasion of the King of Spain and his hosts by sea and land. Some curious orders issued by the Privy Council to Whitgift on the subject of a muster of the horses in possession of the clergy,

[1] Hook, vol. x, p. 131. [2] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, p. 112 (1583-1604).
[3] Cf. Hook, vol. x. *Life of Whitgift, passim.*
[4] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Eliz.*, 1601-1603, vol. cclxxxiii, 83.

are extant, and show the dread that possessed those in authority. In view of "the advertisements of the enemy's designs becoming daily more and more confirmed," so the words run, "it is to be doubted that their coming will now be very speedy and sudden"; the steeds of all the clergy in the Canterbury diocese, except those in Kent in command of the Lord Lieutenant, were therefore to be assembled in Lambeth and Southwark, to await further orders.

A second despatch issued next day shows that commonsense soon got the upper hand. Owing to the distance from Wales, Cornwall and Devon, it was "thought convenient that the horses of the Clergy of those counties should be forborne," provided they were kept in constant readiness for emergency. Whitgift was also bidden to arrange that the riders of clerical horses should come "furnished of horsemen's coats, of some such colour as your Lordship shall think good to prescribe." The duty of the clergy was to provide a certain number of horse and foot to defend the Queen's person, and where they could not find riders able to wear their armour, the Lord Lieutenants might furnish men not elsewhere enrolled. Ten days were allowed for these irregular troops to reach Lambeth. Meanwhile the danger passed, and any who arrived from the countryside in His Grace's courtyard had no doubt to draw rein and clatter home once more, to stable in some country rectory.[1]

Whitgift was concerned in the efforts of the College of Physicians to check the career of Simon Forman, "a Pretender to Skil in Physic and Astrology" and "a great Practiser in London, depending much upon speculation and Sights of Nativities, miserably deceiving the Innocency of simple-minded People." The censors of the college issued a warrant and had the man committed to gaol, but he succeeded in escaping, and took refuge in 'the town of Lambeth,' under the Archbishop's jurisdiction, where the immediate surroundings of the manor were still regarded as

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. XV, app., part v. MSS. of F. J. Savile Foljambe of Osberton (1897), pp. 85-88.

having right of sanctuary for felons. The college authorities wrote to the Archbishop in much perturbation, but Whitgift assured them he should in no way countenance Forman's proceedings, and ordered his officers to give them every assistance in prosecuting their cause against the impostor.[1]

The Archbishop's dark stern face was among the watchers at the bedside of the dying Elizabeth, and his earnest prayers followed with her the mournful 'way to dusty death.' Within six hours of the end of her glorious reign, James I had been proclaimed King of England, and Whitgift returned to Lambeth full of misgivings as to the future of the Church of England and the attitude of the new monarch towards the Puritans. The reins of office were, however, soon to fall from his aged hands. He summoned a conference of Bishops at Fulham House to decide on some wise policy in the confused state of parties, and went thither in his barge in the raw cold of a February day, with the sheltering awnings tied to the top of the bales. Even the young men of his suite, shivering in an icy wind, begged that the cloth might be let down, but the water was rough, and the indomitable old man preferred to see his passage clear. That night he complained of pain in his head, but still dutifully crossed the river again to attend the King at Westminster.

As he left the council chamber he suffered a paralytic stroke with partial loss of speech and in this helpless state he was carried back to his manor-house.[2]

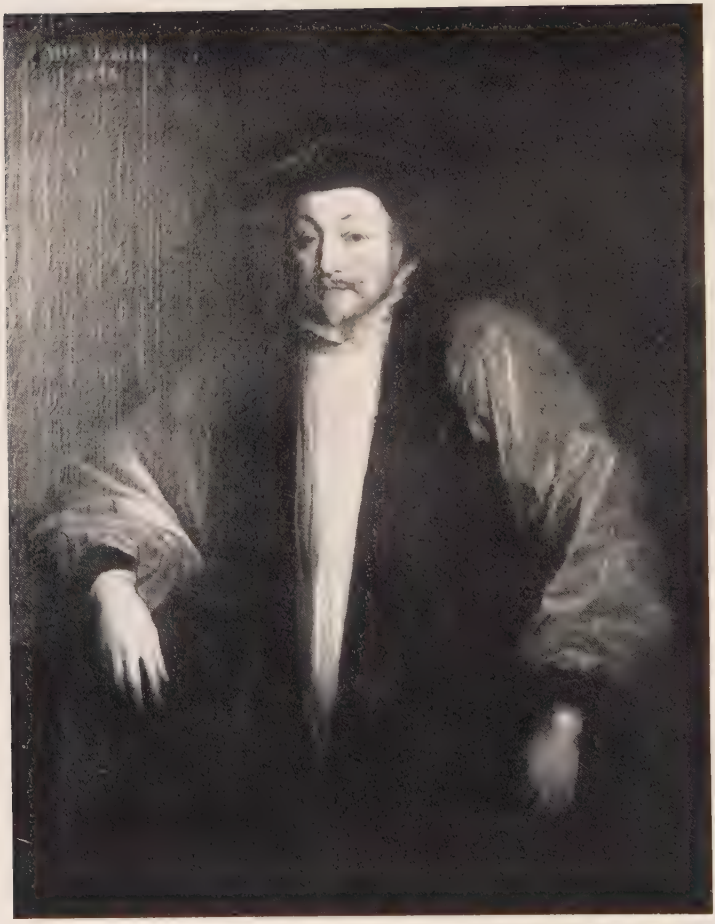
Even in their short intercourse King James had come to respect Whitgift's sagacity; in his extremity, he now hastened to his bedside with assurances that "he would pray God for his Life, and that if he could obtain it he should think it one of the greatest temporal Blessings that could be given him in this Kingdom." Whitgift was almost past lucid utterance, but he could just be heard to repeat over and over again, with eyes uplifted, "Pro Ecclesia Dei, pro Ecclesia Dei." He

[1] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, p. 553.

[2] Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biography*, vol. iii, pp. 618 *et seq.*

even made a feeble effort, since he could not shape in words his last counsels to the King, to set them down in writing, but in vain ; the pen slipt from his fingers, and the next day, a good and faithful servant, he ' quietly departed in the Lord.' [1]

[1] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, p. 578.



Photograph by Russell, London

WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY 1633-1645.
From the portrait by Van Dyck at Lambeth Palace.

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CHAPTER VIII

ON THE EVE OF CIVIL WAR

(i) BANCROFT AND ABBOT

Richard Bancroft, 1604-1611.—From Whitgift to Laud, it has been said, the authority of the Primates bore a despotic character unknown since the days of St. Augustine. "The old symbols of doctrine were gone and the lawyers had not yet stepped in to protect the clergy by defining the exact limits of the new. The result was that at the Commission-board at Lambeth the Primates created their own tests of doctrine with an utter indifference to those created by law."[1] The particular spur which Archbishop Bancroft applied was an insistence upon rigid conformity to the rubrics concerning rites and ceremonies, which led to some three hundred recalcitrant ministers of the Puritan party being expelled from their livings. The associations of the meetings summoned to this end happily vanished with the disappearance of the old library at Lambeth, above the cloister, where Bancroft conferred with his clergy among the books and manuscripts with which he had enriched the see.[2] Even so, his discipline was not rigorous enough for James I, who paid one of his few recorded visits to Lambeth "to encourage the Archbishop to proceed against Nicholas Fuller" the Puritan.[3] This was preliminary to a fine of £200 imposed upon Fuller by the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, which in the end he was unable to pay.[4]

Bancroft had a reputation for stinginess which Fuller

[1] Green, p. 958. [2] Wilkins, vol. iv, p. 412.

[3] *Cal. Dom. S. P. James I*, 1603-1610, vol. 28.51 (Dudley Carleton to J. Chamberlain, 1607).

[4] *Cal. Dom. S. P. James I*, 1603-1610, vol. 28.90, p. 382, (1607).

seems to think was hardly deserved, although he cannot resist quoting a contemporary pasquinade on this vexed question :

> Here lies His Grace in cold clay clad
> Who dy'd for want of what he had.

The blame, if blame there were, of Bancroft's parsimonious house-keeping Fuller shifts upon the shoulders of his 'Domesticall Steward' who was "a Citizen-Tradesman, more acquainted with Thrift than Bounty."[1] This was probably John Langley, to whom the Archbishop granted the office of Housekeeper at Lambeth soon after his accession.[2] A good deal of money was expended in Bancroft's time upon furniture and repairs to the house,[3] while he left a fortune, anything but miserly, of but £600 to his heirs and bequeathed his fine library to public uses.[4] Henry, Prince of Wales, a lad of fourteen, and his brother, Charles, Duke of York, were present in Lambeth Chapel at the consecration of James Montague to be Bishop of Bath and Wells.[5]

George Abbot, 1611-1633.—The next 'despot' Archbishop Abbot reverted to the accustomed hospitality of his house which Bancroft was supposed to have stinted ; indeed on one occasion he feasted the retinue of the Palsgrave, James I's son-in-law, so magnificently that the Palsgrave who 'took it very kindly' came and sat down himself with the guests, though he was 'neither invited nor expected.'[6] A more unusual visitor at Lambeth was a poacher, bearing the high-sounding name of Augustine Jennings, who confessed before His Grace to having taken, apparently on the estate, 'pheasants, partridges and conies in violation of the law.' Abbot's name stands at the foot of the proceedings, under the poacher's mark.[7]

[1] Fuller, book x, p. 57.

[2] *Cal. Dom. S. P. James I*, 1603-1610, vol. 23.38 (1606).

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 13.18 (1605). He is said to have built or repaired the Servants' Hall. Ducarel, p. 17.

[4] Cf. *infra*, p. 212. [5] Le Neve, *Protestant Bishops*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 83.

[6] Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, vol. ii, p. 517.

[7] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. IX, appendix, p. 425 (July 1, 1620).

Although the sessions of the newly established Ecclesiastical Commission Court at Lambeth proved a serviceable instrument to the Primate, the prolonged entertainment they entailed heavily overburdened the archiepiscopal revenues.

Abbot complained bitterly of this drain on his resources. "Since I was Archbishop," he declares, "this thing alone hath cost me, out of my private estate, one thousand pounds and a half, and if I did say two thousand it were not much amiss, beside all my trouble of my servants, who, neither directly nor indirectly, gained £5 by it in a whole year, but only travail and pains for their master's honour, and of that they had enough, my houses being like a great hostry every Thursday in the term, and for my expenses no man giving me so much as thanks." [1]

In Abbot's time there appears upon our stage a figure which, in the drama of the century, seems to fill a rôle such as Shakespeare's jesters filled, and to heighten by contrast the tragedy yet to come. This was Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato under the State of Venice, who took offence at some order of the Pope, declared himself a convert to the Protestant religion and escaped first to the Low Countries, afterwards to England, where his arrival aroused an incredible excitement. King James consigned him to the hospitality of Archbishop Abbot and sent him forthwith a present of 'A fair bason and bolle of silver,' which Spalato characteristically acknowledged with extravagant compliments. According to Fuller, the Italian at Lambeth proved no easy guest. In appearance he was "of a comely personage, tall stature, gray beard, grave countenance, fair language, fluent expression, somewhat abdominous and corpulent in his body." This imposing exterior covered such an imperious and domineering spirit that, "as if the Tenant were the Landlord, though a stranger he offered to control the Archbishop of Canterbury in his own house." For a time, however, the glamour of so magnificent an acquisition to the ranks of Protestantism blinded his hosts to the new arrival's

[1] Denne, p. 182.

obvious defects, above all, to his consummate hypocrisy. The silver bowl and basin were but the earnest of greater favours and he received from the King the Deanery of Windsor, the Mastership of the Savoy, and a Berkshire Rectory, where he " made shift for so much English as sufficed him to read the nine and thirty Articles."[1] But the avaricious old fellow opened his mouth too wide ; he began to question the terms of his tenants' leases, and drew on himself the King's rebuke, " You are a stranger, you are a stranger, leave things as you found them." Having failed to secure the Archbishopric of York, Marc Anthony now swallowed the richer bait offered him by Gregory XV to return to Rome. Before he was allowed to leave England, a stringent examination was ordered into his conduct and inexplicable change of views. Back again to Lambeth came the once-honoured guest, now in dire disgrace. He could make but shuffling replies to the charges brought by the Archbishop in righteous wrath, and was accordingly bidden to depart the kingdom at his own peril within twenty days, and nevermore to return.[2] Even this disastrous experience did not suffice to cure King James and the Archbishop of their thirst for sensational conversions : they were just as lamentably deceived by the two Carmelite Friars, Giulio Cesare Vandoni and Giovanni Battista Maria, who, after the most hospitable entertainment, ' almost daily,' at Abbot's table, suddenly returned to the faith they had never really abandoned, and, less fortunate than Marc Anthony, were committed to prison.[3]

July 7, 1616.—Abbot had the satisfaction of pronouncing absolution, in his chapel, in the presence of three archbishops, twelve bishops, English and Scots, thirty noblemen, and ' eighty Gentlemen of great Quality,' upon the Marquess of Huntly, who had been excommunicated by the Scots Kirk, and of administering the Sacrament to the son

[1] On 14th December, 1617, he assisted, together with Lancelot Andrews and other bishops, at the consecration of Nicolas Felton, Bishop of Bristol, and George Monteigne, Bishop of Lincoln. Le Neve, *loc cit.*, p. 96.

[2] Fuller, book x, pp. 71 *et seq.*

[3] *Cal. Dom. S. P. James I*, 1611-18, pp. 136, 151, 227.

of Prince Radziwill, and another Polish nobleman, members of the congregation.

That was a great day at Lambeth, for on the same occasion, Dr. Thomas Morton, Dean of Winchester, kinsman of Archbishop Morton and friend of Isaac Casaubon, was consecrated to the Bishopric of Chester.[1]

(ii) LAUD'S EARLY DAYS AT LAMBETH

William Laud 1633-1645.—Archbishop Abbot died at his Manor of Ford on August 14, 1633; the choice of his successor was a foregone conclusion, and on the 19th of September following Laud records in his diary the brief entry:

"I was translated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. The Lord make me able."

And that single aim for which, with dogged will and tense purpose, he desired the divine furtherance, was already patent to all: it was nothing less than the restoration of the Church of England in the teeth of Puritan opposition, to that which he believed to be its true position, as "a reformed branch of the Great Catholic Church throughout the world, with doctrines and usages based on those of the Christian communion in the centuries which preceded the Council of Nicea."[2] Yet with all his singleness of aim, his lofty character, his administrative power and industrious devotion to duty, Laud was his own worst enemy, a man predestined to a tragic end. Long since, King James, with habitual shrewdness, had realised where his weakness lay, the inability to leave well alone, the unreasoning love of change, the determination "to bring matters to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain."[3]

In the minds of thoughtful Englishmen a sense of impending disaster shadowed Laud from the first, a premonition not lessened by his own superstitious fears.

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 88.60, and Le Neve, *loc. cit.* p. 94. The examination of the conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot was held at Lambeth. Cf. *Cal. Dom. S. P. James I*, 1611-18, vol. 89.30 (p. 406).

[2] Green, vol. iii, p. 1055. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 1054.

An accident, ill-omened, signalised his arrival at Lambeth ; the overladen ferry-boat, as it crossed with his servants and horses, sank to the bottom of the Thames, happily with the loss only of the Archbishop's coach.[1] No less significant to those who watched events with critical eyes, was the solemn ceremonial of his confirmation in the chapel—while his sense of the magnitude of his new office found expression in the splendid feast set out in the Great Chamber, when the guests stood with uncovered head before his ' State,' the tall canopied seat of honour, and the steward, treasurer and controller of his household attended him with white staves of office in their hands.[2]

The record of Laud's sojourn at Lambeth leaves upon the reader a sense of intimacy hardly realised in the case of other men. It is clear that Laud had a particular attachment to the old house and responded eagerly to the charm of his surroundings. The river so often traversed in his barge, flowing past the windows of chambers he himself had built, figures in his diary like a companion whose face is continually regarded for its changes of mood and expression.

Now he records the low water in autumn, after " an extreme hot and faint October and November " ; so low was it that vessels could scarce pass up and down ; now, on Twelfth Night, the river freezes and, for the second time that century, continues stark and rigid for thirty days, the thaw at last bringing about a great inundation. A year after, in mid-November, " the greatest Tide that hath been seen " floods gates, walks and cloisters at Lambeth ; and on one occasion, when Laud is returning home from the Star Chamber, ' a most extream tempest on the Thames ' endangers his life at the landing-stairs.

He spent no little time and thought in beautifying his new home and in restoring the evidences of past liberality. He must have begun the reparation of the chapel immediately he arrived, for already on September 27th a bill is presented

[1] *Diary*, p. 49.

[2] Le Neve, *Lives of the Protestant Bishops* (1729), p. 127.

by Browne the joiner (one of several receipted bills found by Prynne among Laud's papers and preserved in the Public Records,) for a rail, a pulpit and an altar-table, and for work on " the piece of wainscot that parts the pew for the Lords."[1] It is significant of the irony of Laud's position, not only that his scrupulous care for order and beauty in the house of God was turned against him by his assailants in after days, but also that their statements, so meticulously 'set down in malice' when he stood a prisoner before their tribunal, furnish many details which must otherwise have been lost. It is from Prynne, his deadly opponent, that we learn what occasion there was for 'a pew for the Lords' in Lambeth Chapel, namely that, in Laud's day, " many of the Nobility, Judges, Clergy and persons of all sorts, as well strangers as Natives," were in the habit of resorting thither.[2] Prynne also throws light upon the new 'altar-table,' for at Laud's trial he related how the Archbishop had " altered the ancient Communion table, standing with the ends East and West some distance from the Wall, Table-wise, even from the beginning of Reformation till his coming to the Arch-Bishopricke without any Rayle about it, into a New Altar placed Altar-wise against the Wall with the ends North and South, hedged in with a new costly Raile." [3]

The receipted accounts in the Record Office have not all a controversial interest. No one found fault with the " lockers for the pigeons," charged by Browne the joiner on the same bill with four 'hold-fasts' for the King's picture, doubtless that portrait of Charles I sometimes attributed to Van Dyck, which, as tradition has it, Laud valued as his Royal master's gift and hid for safety in the troublous days behind a bookcase in the old library.[4]

But there was more to come. Visitors to the chapel at this time could not but be struck by the deplorable condition of the stained glass which for at least two hundred years had filled the beautiful lancet windows. We have Laud's

[1] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Charles I*, 1633-1634, vol. 246.88 (1633).
[2] *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 61. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [4] Cave-Browne, p. 189.

testimony that it was " all shameful to look on, all diversely patched like a poor beggar's coat." [1] Dr. Featly, the Puritan Rector of Lambeth, who knew the chapel well, for he had preached there frequently in Abbot's day, corroborated Laud's account from a very different standpoint, while Prynne, as usual, adds touches to the picture. The windows were, he says, at Laud's coming to Lambeth, " defaced, demolished in such sort that nought but a few broken imperfect fragments of them remained, peeced up with white incoherent glasse . . . altogether unrepaired, unfurbished, utterly neglected." [2] The Archbishop indeed found the condition of things insufferable, " it grieved his very soul to see [the chapel] . . . so as he could not resort unto it to worship God with any comfort." [3] Accordingly, with his chaplain's help, he set himself to the engrossing task of piecing together the glass fragments and puzzling out the story " as well as we could by the Remains that were unbroken." [4] In after days Prynne charged him with having used the pictures in the Roman Missal to guide him in the work of re-construction. This he denied, declaring that the series of types and antitypes represented in the windows were not in the Missal at all. Once again we owe our knowledge of what these subjects were to the exact study Prynne made in preparation for Laud's trial and the detailed description he wrote in *Canterbury's Doom*.

When Laud had finished the preliminaries, a glass-painter named Richard Butler took the windows in hand, repairing and re-leading the old glass at a charge of 1s. 6d. a foot, and replacing it where needful with new glass, at 6s. a foot.[5] The work was spread over a good many months : thus, in May, 1635, Butler re-glazed the east window of the chapel, as well as placing the Royal Arms and Laud's own bearings in the great window at the upper end of the Hall, at a total cost of £45 1s. 6d.;[6] in June of the next year he re-glazed the north

[1] *Diary*, p. 311. [2] *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 59. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 61.
[4] *History*, p. 311. [5] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Charles I*, vol. 302.8.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 288.25.

and west chapel windows, at a cost of £62 7s. 6d.[1] By the 'west windows' may be meant those west of the screen; the true west windows had been long since blocked up by the erection of Chichele's tower.

The central pane in the east window contained, in Prynne's words, "a large Crucifix, or Picture of our Saviour Christ hanging on the Crosse, under which were the Pictures of a Scul and of dead men's bones, with a Baskit full of Tooles, Nailes, and Round about the Crucifix were the High Priests with their Officers on horsebacke, and some Souldiers, with others who crucified Christ, and the 2 theives standing on foot . . . Under this Pane there were these latin verses in the Glasse

> Ecce Pater mystes, ubi Natus victima tristis
> Certaque morborum Serpens Medicina Dolorum
> Designant Jesum mundi pro crimine cœsum." [2]

It was the reparation of the broken Image of Christ, in this window, contrary to the Statute of Edward VI requiring the destruction of all images, which was pressed with such bitter vehemence against Laud at his trial;[3] Browne the joiner, sorely against his will, being compelled to give evidence that he had repaired it with his own hands, under Laud's direction.[4] The beauty of the finished windows was so striking that expressions of admiration for their 'fresh lively colours,' their glorious radiance, escaped inadvertently even from Prynne's condemnatory pen.

Other improvements, in the taste of the period, were also made in the Chapel in those early days of comparative tranquillity; Thomas Babb, a painter, was busily engaged in erecting over the entrance door "his grace's arms with the see richly gilded"; and in gilding the organ pipes and painting the case 'of wainscot colour.'[5] Laud had a great love of music and the organ itself received attention from an expert, Robert Dallam, who did some work upon the three

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 325.56.
[2] Prynne, *loc. cit.*, p. 60.
[3] *History*, p. 311.
[4] Prynne, p. 61.
[5] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Charles I*, vol. 302.9.

bellows, and the ' wind-trunk ' and provided a new set of keys.[1] Laud also placed a ' painted cloth ' representing the Last Supper as a hanging behind the altar. At the same time the six-oared barge was prayned or re-decorated, the state-room being ' laid twice a fair green in oil.'

It must have been about this date that Laud added to the motley group of buildings the four-storied tower in brick adjacent to Chichele's pile, containing pleasant chambers which overlook the Thames. To this end he probably pulled down the old ewery, all except the few courses of stone at the base which still remain. There was still opportunity for social intercourse, and visitors of greater or less importance came and went at the manor-house. Now Charles Louis, the Elector Palatine, and his brother, Prince Rupert, sons of the ' Winter Queen ' and nephews of Charles I, pay frequent visits, dine with the Archbishop and attend a consecration and solemn evensong in the chapel.[2] Now the guest is Mr. Edward Hyde, with whom Laud walks up and down the garden-paths, discussing a petition which the promising young lawyer had drawn up for some merchants loyal to the Crown but falsely accused of evading the Customs.[3]

On a rainy day in August, 1637, Laud performed in his chapel the marriage ceremony between James, Duke of Lennox (brother to the Lady Elizabeth Stuart who had been at one time under Archbishop Abbot's surveillance) [4] and the ' maiden-widow,' Lady Mary Villiers, only daughter of the Duke of Buckingham. The King, with the Queen and the royal children, was present, and gave away the bride, but the wedding-feast was celebrated at York House, where a gossiping contemporary letter-writer declares " there were

[1] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Charles I*, vol. 301.68. Laud bequeathed this organ to his successor " provided that he leave it to the See for ever." Ducarel, p. 26. To his servant, Mr. Cobb, he left " my Harp, my Chest of Viols and the Harpsichord that is at Lambeth." *Hist.*, p. 455.

[2] Le Neve, *Lives of the Protestant Bishops*, vol. i, p. 129. (February 28, 1635, &c.)

[3] *Life of Lord Clarendon* (1759), p. 13.

[4] See *infra*, p. 153.

more cooks than guests, 60 cooks and not 6 lords, not the Lord Archbishop who married them." [1]

In the same year at Lambeth, Laud pronounced a crushing sentence upon John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who was deprived of his Deanery of Westminster, suspended from his bishopric and fined £10,000 (which he could not pay and on account of which he was sent to the Tower) for the sale of benefices and other misdemeanours.[2]

Hyde's visit was the first of many meetings and he formed so firm a friendship with the Archbishop that he had the courage to go to him, ' early walking in the garden,' and tell him of the unpopularity he was incurring by his haughty disagreeable manner and sharp tone of voice. Hyde begged that in his own interest, and as befitted his office, Laud would " treat Persons of Honour and Quality in their Country with more Courtesy and Condescension : especially when they came to visit him and make Offer of their service." [3]

This interview was as creditable to the loyalty of the younger man as to the humility with which the elder received a well-merited rebuke. But such friendly warnings could not suffice to save Laud from the misfortunes that his own character and his master's calamitous rule were conspiring to bring upon him.

(iii) THE LAMBETH RISING

As the year 1639 drew to a close, just after Christmas, a hurricane of unprecedented violence broke to pieces the boats of the poor watermen at Lambeth, drawn up on the river-bank, and blew down on the manor-house roof the shafts of two chimneys, throwing lead and rafters on to the bed of one of Laud's servants who fortunately had been detained in London by the foul weather. This was the presage of darker and more terrible tempests which gathered

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. IV, p. 293. (Nicholas Herman to the Earl of Middlesex.) Cf. *Cal. Dom. S. P. Charles I*, 1637, vol. 365.25.

[2] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Charles I*, 1637, vol. 364.12 (p. 317), cf. vol 354.91.

[3] *Life of Lord Clarendon*, p. 32.

over the fair face of England and clouded her prospect for a whole generation to come.

Laud's personal unpopularity was undoubtedly very great and he shared the growing distrust of King Charles. A crisis came when the dissolution of Parliament in favour of arbitrary rule by the Sovereign seemed imminent and culpability for the pending disaster was laid at the Archbishop's door. Wild threats and wilder accusations filled the air. As usual, rumour clothed itself in plausible circumstance. It was said that the servant of a law clerk in Chancery Lane, one Samuel Plumley, had declared " if Parliament should be dissolved, his Grace's house of Canterbury at Lambeth should be fired and that they would keep his Grace in until he should be burnt, and that thousands would say as much."[1] This was on 30th April, 1640, and partial fulfilment followed swift upon prophecy. On 9th May a paper was posted upon the Old Exchange, inciting the prentices, a section of the populace always ready to riot, though having no particular animus against Laud, to sack Lambeth House early on the following day but one. Thus forewarned of the danger, the authorities beat up a drum in Southwark and gave charge to the train-band to guard the Archbishop's property.[2] About twelve or one o'clock on the night of 11th May, Lambeth House was 'beset by 500 Rascal Routers.' By the advice of his friends, wrapped in a long grey cloak,[3] Laud escaped over the water and lay that night in safety in his chambers at Whitehall.[4] " I had notice," he records, " and strengthened the House as well as I could ; and God be thanked I had no harm, they continued there full two hours ; Since, I have fortified my House as well as I can, and hope all may be safe . . . My deliverance was great : God make me thankful for it."[5] Next day, for fear of continued disturbance, the Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex was instructed

[1] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Charles I*, 1640, vol. 451.81. (Apr. 30.)

[2] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. IX., App., p. 498b. (Diary of Robert Woodford, Steward of Northampton, 1639.)

[3] *Ibid.* (May 11). [4] *History*, p. 79. [5] *Diary*, p. 58.

to provide transport for horses and men at Lambeth Ferry,[1] and the Lord Lieutenant of Surrey to appoint, on his side the Thames, a well-appointed provost-marshal and a number of horse and foot armed to keep watch and prevent concourse in Lambeth, Newington, St. George's Fields and the neighbourhood.[2] Rioting went on intermittently in various parts of Southwark ; the White Lion and King's Bench prisons were stormed and prisoners released. On 15th May the rebels were proclaimed in the market-places and chief streets of Westminster,[3] and on the 16th, for fear of an influx of idle or suspected persons, no boat was allowed to ply on the river after nine o'clock with passengers for whom account could not be given.[4]

The rising was savagely repressed : one of the judges indeed, Sir Edward Reeve, refused to proceed upon the indictment, saying that " he would have no hand in any man's blood." [5] Others were less scrupulous, and one at least of the ringleaders was hanged and quartered at Southwark. This aroused deep resentment. All kinds of wild rumours were abroad and the commission of Oyer et Terminer was hurriedly suspended because it was supposed that a great quantity of gunpowder was stored in a house close to the place where the session should have been held.[6]

(iv) NICHOLAS FERRAR

Early in that same fateful May, during Holy Week, Laud received at Lambeth a visitor who must have come like a messenger of peace from another world into the troublous atmosphere. This was Nicholas Ferrar, the younger, a nephew of the elder Nicholas of the Community of Little

[1] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Charles I*, 1640, vol. 453.18.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 453.19. At this point in Laud's Diary passages are burnt out, probably when it was in Prynne's hands.

[3] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Charles I*, 1640, vol. 453.61. [4] *Ibid.*, vol. 453.81.

[5] Diary of John Rouse (Cam. Soc. 1856), p. 101.

[6] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Charles I*, 1640, vol. 456.44. (Newsletter, June 8, p. 281.)

Gidding, being the son of his brother, John Ferrar.[1] The lad brought with him the magnificent Concordance of the Four Evangelists, in English, Latin, French and Italian, made by himself for Charles, Prince of Wales, and printed at the Little Gidding presses. When Laud entered the room where Nicholas awaited him, the young man knelt down, craved his blessing and reverently kissed his hand. In response to this greeting, " my Lord embraced him very lovingly," lifted him to his feet and desired a sight of the books he had with him. Nicholas produced a stately volume, in covers of green velvet, richly gilt, with great broad strings edged with gold lace. What wonder that Laud, the book-lover, Laud who treasured in his own study " a Bible with the Five Wounds of Christ fair upon the Cover of it . . . curiously wrought in Needlework,"[2] exclaimed now, in astonished admiration of his guest's handiwork, " These truly are jewels only for princes." Next day, being Maundy Thursday, he took the young craftsman with him to the royal presence at Whitehall.

The King was equally appreciative. " Here is a fine book for Charles indeed ! " he said. " I hope it will soon make him in love with what is within it, for I know it is good." Provided with an introduction from the Archbishop to the Princes' tutor, Nicholas next journeyed to Richmond to make his presentation, and afterwards returned to Lambeth in company with John Ferrar, to tell how he had sped ; how too, the little Duke of York had begged for as beautiful a book as his brother's, and had been promised one as soon as it could be made ready. Laud now took the proud father aside, told him how the King, being greatly in love with the seventeen-year old lad, desired to take him into his own protection, to make him his scholar and servant and to maintain him at Oxford, that he might carry out his high ambition, the preparation of a version of the New Testament in twenty-four languages. The elder men then returned to Nicholas, and again

[1] For this narrative see Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.* (1839), vol. iv, p. 117 *et seq.*

[2] *History*, p. 314.

the Archbishop, with fatherly affection, drew him into his arms, laid a hand on his cheek, and prayed that through his life's work, he might become an instrument of the Divine glory on earth and a saint in heaven. " God bless you, God bless you," he cried fervently. " I have told your father what is to be done for you after the holidays ; God will provide for you better than your father can do. God bless you and keep you ! " So they parted, never to meet again, for within a few days Nicholas, so young, loveable and full of promise, fell ill beyond recovery. On his sick bed he heard news of the riot at Lambeth and the fierce attack on the Archbishop's house, and his dying words seemed to the bystanders prophetic of all that was to come : " Alas, alas," said he, "God help His Church and poor England ! "

(v) THE BEGINNING OF THE END

During the last few days of May, after some discussion as to whether a meeting during the dissolution of Parliament was valid, Convocation assembled and drew up seventeen Canons, to which all the Bishops subscribed except Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester. Laud, who had foreseen the Bishop's opposition to certain clauses aimed at the Papists, sent for him to Lambeth, and urged him to avoid the scandal which, " in these broken times," failure to subscribe would entail. Goodman replied that he would be torn with wild horses rather than yield—and, adds Laud, " so we parted." [1] Disturbance still continued. Vile libels were now posted about town calling on apprentices and soldiery to fall upon Laud during the King's absence in Scotland. His position of danger weighed on him and increased his superstitious fears ; the Diary relates how on the Eve of St. Simon and St. Jude he went into his upstairs study to examine some manuscripts he was about to send to Oxford. " In that study," he writes, " hung my Picture, taken by the Life ; and coming in I found it fallen down upon the Face, and

[1] *History*, p. 81. Cf. *Diary*, p. 58.

lying on the Floor, the String being broken by which it was hanged against the Wall. I am almost every day threatened with my Ruine in Parliament. God grant this to be no Omen."[1] He provided against any sudden surprise by having his plate-chest buried in the strawhouse at the back of the Lambeth stables. This was done by his groom Nicholas Smith, and a yeoman named Francis Lee belonging to Streatham. Laud seems to have had complete confidence in these men, who had promised him not to disclose the hiding-place of what, for aught he knew, was " the greatest part of his estate that he had to trust to " ;[2] his will makes reference to certain moneys in the keeping of honest persons, whom he forbears to name, lest the storm which threatened him should also fall on them. Smith, however, betrayed his trust ; he was seen, one Sunday morning after Laud's execution, coming from the stable, across the moat which surrounded the Park, staggering under the weight of a sack he carried on his back, and ultimately was summoned before the Navy Committee to explain his conduct.[3]

Events now hastened rapidly to their appointed end. Two months after the ominous fall of his picture had deepened Laud's nervous forebodings, an indefinite accusation of treason, no particulars being given, was preferred against him by the House of Commons, and he was committed to the custody of the Black Rod, James Maxwell.[4]

December 18, 1640.—He was permitted, under guard, to pay a last sad visit to Lambeth, ' for a book or two to read in ' and the papers necessary for his defence. He spent the day in his well-loved home, so as to return at dusk unobserved to his prison. For the last time he attended evensong in the chapel which bore so many traces of his careful hand ; the psalms of the day, the ninety-third and ninety-fourth, brought great comfort to his sad heart, and he determined to read them over daily so long as his life lasted. He gave last directions

[1] *Diary*, p. 59. [2] *History*, p. 456.
[3] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Commonwealth*, 1650, vol. 11, 16-19 (Sept. 17, p. 343).
[4] *History*, p. 144.

GULL: QUONDAM ARCH: CANT:
Lend me but one poore teare, when thou dost see,
This wretched Pourtraict of just miserie,
I was Great Innovator; Tyran, Foe
To Church, & State, all Times shall call me so.
But since, I'm Thunder-striken to the Ground
Learne how to stand, insult not o're my wound.
W M Sculp:

WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY 1633-1645.
Engraved by W. Marshall.

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to his steward and then made ready to bid the place farewell. But he could not slip away quite without Godspeed from those who felt a kindly compassion for his lot. "As I went to my barge," he writes, "hundreds of my poor neighbours stood at the gates, and prayed for my safety and return to my House, for which I bless God and them."[1] Maxwell's surveillance lasted for three months, then the Archbishop was committed to the Tower, railed at by the London rabble and the prentices till the gates closed behind him.

1642.—During the ten months of his imprisonment, news of melancholy happenings at Lambeth drifted through to him from time to time. The house was entered at seven o'clock one August evening by Captain Royden and his company, who spent the night there, searching every room and breaking open locked doors. Next morning they marched off with the contents of Laud's armoury—arms for some two hundred men, of an old-fashioned type, passed on from one primate to the next and furbished up as they fell into ill-repair—heaped up in carts, their progress through the streets to the Guildhall being hailed with volleys of abuse.[2]

The house was again entered on 9th November, at five in the morning, by Captain Brown and his company, who now took it over for the public service. Prior to this, two members of the Commons, Mr. Holland and Mr. Ashurst, with an escort of musketeers, had made a search for any money there might be, and had taken away seventy or eighty pounds from Laud's receiver, Walter Dobson, on the plea that it was for the maintenance of the King's children, now also in captivity.[3] At another time, some of the garrison soldiers wantonly burst open the chapel door, and threatened violence to the organ; it was saved by the intervention of their captain, who was, says Laud, "towards me and my house very civil in all things."

His stables were next emptied of his young dun horses, the warrant for removal bearing amongst other signatures, the names of Pym and Sir John Evelyn.[4] His keys he was

[1] *Diary*, p. 60. [2] *History*, p. 196. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 197. [4] *Diary*, p. 65.

compelled to hand over to Dr. Leighton, for Lambeth House had been assigned for the use of prisoners, who even owed, in the wintry January weather, what little warmth they might enjoy to Laud's reserves of fuel, acquired by the Commonwealth at his expense.

The severe wrench of these deprivations, greater and less, and the desecration of his home, was reflected in Laud's very dreams ; he dreamt in his prison that a warrant had come for his release, and that he was pleading with his gaolers to be allowed to keep at least the key of his former lodgings till he had found some other refuge for himself and his ' stuff,' since to Lambeth, even in a vision, he could not hope to return ; waking to the sad reality he slept again, and again dreamt the same alluring dream.

May, 1643.—The severest trial was still to come. One day when the spring sunlight made the coloured lights shine with the brilliancy of gems, rough soldiers again entered the chapel, defaced the windows, tore up the marble steps of the altar. Laud's books and goods were seized by Leighton and his fanatical friends ; Leighton himself appropriated many of them ; others were sold much below their value. The safety of a large part of the library, containing Bancroft's bequest, was, however, secured by John Selden, but not until after the Primate's violent death.[1]

The ordeal so exacting to one of Laud's temperament, of hearing the memory of things that once had brought him joy and peace defamed by evil insinuation, was not yet at an end. During his prolonged examination, not only the pains he had reverently bestowed on the enrichment of his chapel, his fondness for books and music, but even the intimate thoughts recorded in his Diary and the prayers he had offered in secrecy to his Maker, were dragged into publicity and made the subject of accusations against his integrity. The shining

[1] Burnet (*Hist. of His Own Times*, vol. i, p. 32) says that at the time of Laud's impeachment, the Archbishop sent Warner, Bishop of Rochester, to Lambeth with the keys of his closet and cabinet, to secure his most valuable papers. [Mrs. R. L. Poole suggests that Warner may have taken charge also of the Van Dyck portrait.]

windows of the chapel (through which ' Popery might creep in,') ; the new altar-table, with its rails and furniture of candlesticks and silver vessels ; the arras hanging of the Last Supper ; the Bible with broidered cover in his study ; the great " Book of Popish Pictures, containing the portraiture of the Life, Passion, and Death of Christ " ; the paintings which Pole, so long since, had hung in the Gallery ; these things, one and all, figured in the indictment which brought Laud at last to the block.

Truly the story of his sojourn at Lambeth is most fittingly concluded with Dante's poignant saying :

" Nessun maggior dolore
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria."

CHAPTER IX

PRISONERS AT LAMBETH HOUSE

(i) INTRODUCTORY. BISHOPS' PRISONS

ONE of the most controversial pages of mediaeval history relates to the separate jurisdiction of Church and State in the administration of justice. To modern ideas the responsibility of churchmen for the arraignment and punishment not merely of the erroneously-minded but actually of the criminal is in itself wholly distasteful. Yet from an early period of church history the privilege of the clergy to be judged by those of their own cloth was jealously guarded against the encroachments of the royal prerogative or State intervention. Upon this point turned the great contest between Thomas Becket and Henry II. Magna Carta confirmed to the clergy the right to be tried only in ecclesiastical courts. So long as this distinction was insisted upon, it was necessary and therefore sanctioned by law and custom that the apparatus of trial and of punishment, the court and the prison-house, should be provided in the several dioceses. Hence there is nothing anomalous in the association of the prison-cell with the dignity of a bishop's residence. On the whole, its existence offered a glimmer of hope to the prisoner. These prisons, Dr. Hook has said, "were intended to enable men to escape the severer penalties of the Law." If a heretic were left in the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical authorities his life was spared; for the extreme penalty was not theirs to exercise. Even Arundel, in the infamous statute De Heretico comburendo, threw upon the secular powers the execution of a sentence passed by the church courts, the

committal of the victim to the stake. The greater leniency of the church was generally recognised. When the mayor and populace of London demonstrated against the bishops in 1382 they seized and mishandled the unfortunates confined in episcopal prisons, on the ground that the priests used them too indulgently.[1]

We should thus expect to find the primatial residence equipped with dungeons, and, apart from church privilege, the Archbishop had, as Lord of the Manor of Lambeth, judicial control of recalcitrant tenants who sometimes required coercion. Accordingly we read in Arundel's Register that the Primate summoned before him for judgment a married chaplain from the dungeons within his Manor of Lambeth (" de carceribus infra manerium suum apud Lambehith "). It is a moot question in what part of the palace Arundel's prisons were situated. At a later date Morton's Gateway undoubtedly contained a gaol. The heretic Lamberte was " commanded to ward in the porter's lodge," after his examination before Archbishop Cranmer and the Bishops of Worcester and Salisbury.[2] Friar Peto was imprisoned " in a tower in Lambeth over the gate," where he displayed to Sir G. Thompson the two sermons he and a brother friar had made before the King at Greenwich, on the subject of the marriage with Anne Boleyn.[3]

Morton's new work certainly incorporated parts of the earlier entrance gate, and the prison may have been among them. An inner room, in the eastern tower, approached by a separate newel staircase, with walls of extreme thickness in which heavy rings are still fixed, a massive double door and small barred windows, was clearly at one time a place of confinement. The steward's accounts for the year 1429-30 include the purchase of puncheons and stanchions for the wall next

[1] Walsingham, *Hist. Anglic.*, ii, p. 65 (Rolls 28).

[2] Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries (Cam. Soc., 1843), p. 36.

[3] Brewer, vol. xii, pt. ii, No. 952. Probably William Peto or Peyto, confessor to Queen Catherine of Aragon. See Stow, *Annals*, 1533, and Phillips, *Life of Pole*, vol. ii, p. 247.

the prison-house, and the construction of two beds of boards and a strong pair of stocks ' in the Auditor's Chamber.' One cannot suppose the auditor himself had any use for such grim furniture. We know, however, from independent sources, both that the gatehouse accommodated several of the archbishop's officials, and that certain transferences took place there in the mid-fifteenth century; for instance, the Prerogative Registry was shifted from the left to the right-hand side of the gate.[1] It is possible that the auditor's office had originally been in the eastern gatehouse, and that he moved at the same time as the registrar, when his empty room was fitted up as a prison.

Several modern writers, including Dr. Maitland, for many years Lambeth Librarian, and Dr. Hook, author of *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, have questioned whether Chichele's Tower can correctly be associated with Lollard persecution. The last-named remarks cautiously that the tower " was not erected for the special purpose of being a prison for Lollards, nor were the Lollards if committed to it the only inmates." Mr. Cave-Browne, in his *History of Lambeth Palace*, carried the attack on tradition much farther. He assured his readers that the real ' Lollards' Tower ' of unhallowed memory, was not at Lambeth at all, but at Old St. Paul's, of which the south-west tower—according to Stow's description (1598)—" is called the Lowlarde's Tower and hath been used as a Bishop's Prison [*i.e.*, the Bishop of London] for such as were detected for opinions in religion contrary to the faith of the church."[2] Mr. Cave-Browne considered that the erroneous ascription of the name to Chichele's Tower began in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, when the real Lollards' Tower had been swept away by the Great Fire and its site half-forgotten, while the strong anti-papistical tendencies of the day made people prone to revive any tradition which threw obloquy on the pre-Reformation church. Two pieces of evidence, however, exist which nullify his theory and carry back the association

[1] *Supra*, p. 67. [2] Stow, *Survey of London* (3rd ed., 1603), p. 372.

of the name with Lambeth to a considerably earlier date, if they do not altogether prove it to have been of mediaeval origin. In the survey of Lambeth Manor made in 1647 the following very explicit description is to be found :—

" Atte the Northend of the Courte is a greate Bricke Buildinge, with Windowes opening towards the Thames, foure Storeys high, covered with Lead, Behind which Buildinge, alonge by the West end of the Chappell is a paire of Staires leading upp into chambers five storeys high, *over which is the Lollards' Tower all covered with lead.*" [1]

The other witness is the antiquarian, John Aubrey (1626-97). His *Antiquities of Surrey*, although not published until 1718, was written before 1697, and represents the first-hand knowledge of a man born in 1626 and adult many years before the Great Fire. In his account of Lambeth House during the Great War, he tells us how the " Gate-House and *Lollards' Tower*, in 1646, was made a Prison for the faithful but unhappy royalists." [2] Aubrey, for the greater part of his life, must have known of the existence of two Lollards' Towers in London, the larger and more famous one at St. Paul's, and the smaller and less capacious at the Archbishop's manor.

The carefully explicit account in the 1647 Survey may legitimately carry us a stage further. There the name Lollards' Tower is applied, not to the whole mass of Chichele's construction, but to the turret, covered with a hood of lead, incorporated into its northern face, which rises above Chichele's ' chambers five-storeys high,' and to the one small chamber it contains, at the summit of its newel staircase. The construction and stonework of this turret point to its being of more ancient date than the rest of the building. The present approach, directly through Chichele's Tower, conceals the fact that it had until recent years a separate entrance on the north-east corner of the post-room ;

[1] S. W. Kershaw, *The Manor of Lambeth* (Surrey Arch. Coll., vol. xii), p. 36. This Survey was not printed until 1895.

[2] Aubrey, *Antiquities of Surrey*, vol. v, p. 273.

the lower part of its separate newel-stair is no longer in use. It is therefore not impossible that when the stone building west of the chapel was demolished, to the very foundations, to make way for Chichele's new work, this staircase turret, adjoining the chapel with the prison at its summit, still remained standing and both were incorporated into the newly made tower.

Chichele's tower contains in itself no cells or dungeons, but a pleasant ' Solar ' (the post-room) and sleeping apartments on the upper floors.

As we shall presently discover, during the Commonwealth, portions of this tower were used as prisons. Possibly at this time the name Lollards' Tower, properly belonging only to the old turret, began to be applied colloquially to the whole pile, inasmuch as it now deserved a reputation not inferior to the grim record which through the centuries the original owner of the title had acquired.

(ii) HONOURABLE SURVEILLANCE

Among the crowded household at Lambeth were often to be found persons detained there, for various reasons, under the Archbishop's surveillance, in an honourable captivity. Bishop Latimer was committed to the safe keeping of Archbishop Warham in his Manor of Lambeth.[1]

After the Battle of Solway Moss, when the captured nobles were brought to London and given in custody to various members of Henry VIII's Court, the Earl of Cassilis was sent to Lambeth—as a prisoner on parole. Cranmer laboured to free his mind from the errors of Rome, it is said so successfully that on his liberation the Earl became a great promoter of the reformed religion in Scotland.[2] Archbishop Parker was the kindly host of some of those churchmen who refused the oath of supremacy to Queen Elizabeth. Dr. Thomas Thirleby (the first and only Bishop of West-

[1] *Correspondence of Archbishop Parker*, p. 194, and Cave-Browne, p. 226.

[2] Burnet, *History of Reformation* (1679), pt. i, bk. iii, p. 320.

minster, subsequently translated by Edward VI to Norwich and by Queen Mary to Ely) and Dr. Boxall, Mary's favourite secretary, formerly Dean of Windsor, Norwich and Peterborough, lived with him, at Lambeth and at Bekesbourne, for several years from September 1563 : Thirleby was buried in the midst of the Chancel of Lambeth Church.[1] He seems to have enjoyed great happiness under Parker's hospitable roof ; " more pleasure " in the words of one writer, " in this time of his imprisonment than ever heretofore in the most and fullest stream of his highest honours." Less favoured guests were those victims of the Queen's suspicions, her caprice or wounded vanity, whom she committed, for indefinite periods, and without provision for their charges, to the keeping of her faithful Parker.

Occasionally even he revolted against an intolerable imposition. " Where ye sent me certain guests," he wrote to Sir William Cecil in Oct. 1562, " for four and five days, to be used in secrecy, now well nigh 4 or 5 weeks ago ; I would understand . . . whether it be the Queen's pleasure I should still prepare for them, being neither secret in themselves nor refusing open resort of others to their table, which I find in this hard year chargeable, as they look to be entertained ; and although Mons. de la Haye be a right honest gentleman yet other of his resorters and chamber-fellows be very nice, dainty and imperious as I am informed. I trust that your wisdom will consider that my house shall not be made an hostry for all times and for all comers " . . .[2]

To this class of unwanted guests belonged Lord Henry Howard, younger son of the Earl of Surrey and an alumnus of Cambridge University, esteemed " the learnedest among the nobility and the most able among the learned." His intellectual gifts were but ill-matched by the duplicity of his character. He was implicated with his brother, the Duke of Norfolk, in a conspiracy to place Mary Queen of Scots upon the throne, and escaping the Tower and the block, sentenced

[1] Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. i, p. 162.

[2] *Correspondence of Archbishop Parker*, Letter 123, p. 170.

to be confined to Lambeth Palace under Parker's surveillance. His quarters were not at all to his liking—he pined for his boon companions and pleaded for release from his golden cage: "My late exchange of place with decaie of liberty when I stood in greatist hope of full descharge from trouble," he wrote to Parker in a characteristic letter, "hathe brought me to so great discomfort, as eyther I must burdene Y^r [our] L [ordship] with unfoldinge my harde estate or ellis surcharge myself wth dispair of fredome. If I weare not very well assured of myne owne gouverment, thear wear most cause of feare, least some freshe offence had procured this hard restraynt. But sith my dealing is cleane and voyde of all suspic[ion], and hath bene from the firste beginning till this re-entry into trouble, I knowe not whereunto I may ascribe this unlook'd for alteration but to myne owne misfortune. Better had it bene for me, and a great deale less discouragement, never to have tasted liberty then after the the first steppe to be wean'd from my comforte and decline again to misery. When by your L[ordship's] friendly meane I had once attayned release of close emprysonment I grewe in hope that my behaviour aunseringe y[our] good opinion the nexte enlargement wold have bene to liberty, nowe, albeit to my great discomfort, I finde not that successe wch I expected, yet I trust that duty hath bene performed wch of an humble and carefull prisoner may be requir'd.

This flitting from some release to more restraynt abidith some contynuance, and, as y[ou]r L[ordship] knoweth, in all diseases the Seconde fall hath ever the greatist perrill. It maie seme straunge unto y[ou]r L[ordship] that my L[ord] of Caunterbury's intertaynment being both honorable and curteouse, and the former charge of my diete well abated, that I should mislike my seate, but if it maie please the same to call to minde the small pleasure a prisoner conceyvith in his golden fetters you will the rather be moved to pitty myne afflicted state. This place maie have more credit but surely it hath lesse comforte and for myne owne parte (wth y[ou]r L[ordship's] favor and liking) I rather crave upon emprisonment in the Flete than

a kinde of close keping in this pallace ; the Outward beawty relesith an inward grefe and wisdome preferrith a cottage of claye befor a cage of gold. Of late I had the accesse and comforte of my frends, wch helped to passe awaie my wery time. But nowe I am costrayned for all acquayntance and driven to kepe my chamber, for wante of knowen and desired companie. Theare can be no greater grefe then, having almost finishid my wery care, to begin another course— Wherefor I most humbly besech y[ou]r good L[ordship] to stand my frend in this myne humble sute, as it hathe pleased you to doo heretofor. If you think myne offence (being noe heynouse) to be sufficiently rebuk'd with this xvj. wekes emprisonment, to procure my full and perfete liberty ; if not, thear to bestowe me whear, without any furder discredit in any respecte of empechement of liberty, I may satisfie her Majestie's pleasure. No place is more mete, if it may please y[ou]r L[ordship] so to iudge of it, then Howard howse, both for the exercise of my sickly boddy and Mr. Hasset's companie. If y[ou]r L[ordship] will thus deale with me, uppon bonds of apparence at all tymes, as it hath pleasid you to do with other of my L[ord's] people, I shall be bounde to pray for y[ou]r L[ordship] while I live and employ myne uttermost travaile to do you service.

I neyther have, nor ever had, since the beginning of my trouble, other meane for my liberty than y[ou]r L[ordship] and therfor, whilst submitting my selfe to y[ou]r favorable dealinge, I humbly take my Leave

Lambeth this 28 of Aprille

Y[ou]r L[ordship's] most assured to comaunde

Henry Howard.[1]

On more than one occasion the kindly Archbishop interceded with Burghley for Lord Henry's release, but he was no sooner free than he again plunged into intrigue and earned for himself the reputation of being " the grossest of flatterers

[1] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Eliz.*, vol. 86.25 (from the original holograph).

and the most treacherous of friends." He was finally concerned in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, but died before the investigations had proved his guilt.

The following spring Parker received a prisoner who better repaid his clemency. This was John, Lord Stourton, eldest son of Charles, Lord Stourton, executed for murder in 1557. The young man's offence was an attempt to quit the kingdom without the Queen's licence. Parker's letters to Burghley describe his fatherly efforts to control and reform this generous-hearted scapegrace and the success which he achieved: "I thought it good to signify to your honour concerning that young gentleman the Lord Stourton, with whom both I and some of my chaplains have diligently conferred and friendly entertained. I perceive this young nobleman to be of no reading but yet dependeth of some of his old corrupt instructions. In my conference I did much . . . lay before him the unkindness to the Queen's Majesty to steal away from her governance in such sort, and charged him with unnatural affection toward his country to withdraw his such aid as he might do to it . . . He feareth much that her Highness is in great displeasure with him, and fain would he have pardon . . . howsoever his foolish youth (as he saith) hath overseen himself. I promised him to write to such effect, and he gathereth some comfort because he was no longer kept in prison or committed more sadly. He was a while very stiff, and could not hear of the disabling of his religion, and of the reasonableness of ours . . . so that I could not persuade him to come to our daily prayer in my chapel with my household, but now he relenteth, and seemeth to be ready to hear and read, and thinketh in some things other wise than he hath done; and this day I have a promise of him that he will come to my common prayers both now and hereafter."[1]

In the year of the Armada, Sir Thomas Tresham, who had "fallen into some sickness through his restraint of liberty" in the Bishop's Palace at Ely, came to Lambeth to give surety

[1] *Correspondence of Archbishop Parker*, p. 422.

to Archbishop Whitgift for his allegiance,[1] and distributed " giftes upon his delyverie " amounting to 40s.[2] In the spring of 1590 he was again before the Privy Council protesting against the policy that incarcerated loyal English Catholics to avert a hostile invasion from Spain.[3]

October, 1592.—During Whitgift's primacy Lambeth was frequently used as a prison for " recusants and receivers of priests and seminaries " on whom suspicion had fallen. A list is extant containing the names of a number of the heads of old Catholic families in Lancashire " meet to be apprehended and sent up to Lambeth," though it is unlikely that the prison-doors ever closed upon them all. Their wives meanwhile were to be placed in custody with loyal gentlefolk of other counties. The list includes Ireland of Lyddiard, Standishe of Standishe, Barlowe of Barlowe, Brockell of Brockell, Middleton of Leighton, Blondell of Crossye and his son, and Latham of Mosbrey. Others " not seeming to be recusants but discovered to be dangerous persons," and liable to the same penalty, were " Young Everrard," Barton of Barton Rowe, Langton of the Lowe, Whittingham of Whythall and Bartholomew Hesketh, whose brother Richard was executed for poisoning the young Earl of Derby.[4] The records of some of these families may establish whether or not their ancestors actually suffered imprisonment in the Archbishop's dungeons.

Charles I made use of Lambeth to discipline a wayward young ward, who had preferred a husband of her own choice to the politic alliance with the Marquis of Lorne designed by her royal guardian, an alliance which would have united the powerful Scots families of Lennox and Argyll. With the help of her mother and her grandmother, the old Duchess of Lennox, she married clandestinely the Lord Maltravers, eldest son of the Earl of Arundel. The Earl and Countess

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. on Various Collns., vol. iii (1904), Introd., p. xi.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[4] *MSS. at Hatfield House*, part iv (1892), p. 241.

were sent for a season to the Tower, for their share in frustrating the King's matrimonial arrangements. The bride and bridegroom were put in charge of Archbishop Abbot at Lambeth House and carried on their lovemaking in the gardens by the riverside.[1]

(iii) UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH

1642.—The darkest records of prison life within the walls of Lambeth undoubtedly belong to the period of the Commonwealth. The news reached Archbishop Laud in the Tower, on Wednesday, 9th November, at 5 in the morning, that Captain Brown and a company of soldiers had entered Lambeth House "to keep it for Publick Service."[2] On 23rd December, Dr. Alexander Leighton came to the Archbishop with a warrant from the House of Commons "for the keys of my House to be delivered to him and more Prisoners to be brought thither." The final order from both Houses for the regulation of Lambeth, "lying empty and convenient," as a prison was issued on 5th January, 1643. Laud regarded the appointment of Leighton to be the first keeper as a deliberate insult to the Church "done to break my patience." "Had it not been so," he wrote in his History, "somebody else might have been sent . . . and not Layton, who had been censured in the Star Chamber to lose his ears for a most base and most virulent Libel against Bishops and the Church Government established by law."

Another writer declares that Leighton used his opportunity "to make Reprisals for his Damages" and in a vindictive spirit to persecute "the Purses of the Loyal Clergy and Gentry with as much Rigour and Severity as his Masters did their Persons."[3] Lambeth House was not the only episcopal residence to be put to this base use. Winchester, London and Ely Houses suffered the same fate; the common gaols were now full to overflowing, and the dwellings which had

[1] Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.*, vol. i, p. 363. Cave-Browne, p. 230.

[2] See p. 214, *infra*, for Laud's petition about his library.

[3] Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 57.

been centres of kindly and generous hospitality were converted into miserable prisons where men pined and starved to death. Yet their fate was on the whole preferable to that of the prisoners committed on board ships in the River Thames, where, as Clarendon relates, "they were kept under decks, and no friend suffered to come to them; by which many lost their Lives." [1]

The story of the Lambeth captives has a melancholy interest. Even before its legal installation as a prison it had been occupied by prisoners. "So early as the 23d of September 1642," says Cave-Browne, "a prisoner of some mark, Colonel Henry Brooke of Cheshire had been consigned to Lambeth Palace; [2] Dr. Wilson, Archdeacon of Exeter too, in the following month." [3]

A list of commitments during December, 1642, and January, 1643, preserved among the House of Lords' Manuscripts,[4] is from many points of view of unique interest and is here printed in full for the first time. It runs as follows:

DECEMBER 22°, 1642:

The Names of the Prisoners Committed to Lambeth House upon the 16th, 17th and 20th of this instant December by the Lord Maior of London and sent by some of the Trayned bande.

Edward Cross A Thred dyer
John Adamson Cytizen and Weaver.
Humphrey Swan an Embroyderer.
John Harden A Hosier.
Thomas Ffryer A munitioner and Chandler.
Thomas Hebbs Cytizen and Butcher.
Valentyne Beale March[t].
John Swale Cheesemonger.
Edward Trussell Mercer
Edward Cuthbert A Woollen Draper.
Henry Moss of London Scrivener.

[1] Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, vol. ii, p. 16.

[2] Cave-Browne, p. 233; his source is incorrectly given and the facts require verification, as Col. Henry Brooke was a leading Parliamentarian.

[3] Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 57.

[4] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. V, p. 67; Library of the House of Lords.

These all severally say they know not for what they were Committed unless for subscribinge to the late Petition for Peace.

Sir Charles Bowles Knight Committed December the 24 1642 by vertue of an order ffrom the Commons House of Parliament dated December the (23rd) 1642 : but no [*blank*] specified.

The Names off such Prisoners sent ffrom Portsmouth and Committed to Lambeth House ffor High Treason, for Actually Leavynge Warre against the King and Parliament December the 28th 1642 :

Mr. Edward Gerrard Capt. Leivt. to the Lord Grandison.
Mr. John Bennett Cornett to the Lord Grandison.
Mr. Phillipp Honnywood Leivt. to Sr. Richard Willis.
Sr. John Smyth Leivt : to the Lord Stewards Troope.
Mr. Francis Bartue Capt of A Troope.
Mr. Richard Williamson his Leivt.
Mr. George Booth his Cornett.
Mr. James Prodgiers Leivt. to Sr. Phillipp Terwhitt.
Mr. John Wren Captayne of Dragooners.
Mr. John Radham Leivt. to Maior Hebberne.
Mr. Ralph Booth Leivt. to Capt. Wrenn.
Mr. Roger Brandlinge Cornett to Capt. Brandlinge.
Mr. Ralph Arrowsmyth.
John Ffinch.
Ralph Hulton.
Mr. Ffrancis Elrington Leivt.
George Whyte.

The names off such Prisoners as were brought to Lambeth House by Maior Cary from Chichester January the 2nd 1642 : but not Committed by any warrant.

Collonell Henry Shelly.
Leivte Michaell Widdrington.
Ens. Francis Shelly.
Ens. William Gage.
Mr. Robert Anderson.
Ens. William Garrett.
Leiv. Anthony Edmonds.

The 7 last specified are to bee carried thence this morninge as others of them were.

The conditions of panic and disorder which this document discloses, the honest tradesman, ignorant of his offence,

save that he longed for peace, flung into gaol with the Captain of Dragoons and the boy Lieutenant, accused of high treason against King and Country; the City trained band at their invidious task of sudden arrest; the levies hastily summoned, now at Portsmouth, now at Chichester, under the leadership of squire and nobleman; all these things make of it an epitome of Southern England in the first throes of Civil War. The proceedings of the Committee for the Advance of Money also contain the names of many Loyalists, of various stations in life, who were confined in those early days for inability, or a blank refusal, to pay the forced loans levied upon their estates. Thus, Captain Elias Jordan refused to disgorge a sum of £400 and was committed to Lambeth House.[1] Alderman John Lynn of Exeter was incarcerated for failure to pay £300 and one Cuthbert Gilpin for attempting secretly to convey some of Lynn's property away into safety. By the good offices of the Earl of Essex, Lynn was subsequently exchanged for two other men of Devon.[2] John Bateman, Constable of Deptford, was taken into custody for too chivalrous behaviour in arresting the officer who came to collect the assessment of his neighbour, Captain Blith of Deptford and Addle Hill;[3] and Jeremy Beck of the Inner Temple and Castle Acre, Northamptonshire, likewise, for threatening, in self-defence, the officers who levied toll upon his possessions to the tune of £1,500.[4] A woman prisoner in this year, Margaret Garway or Garroway, spent nine months in Peterhouse prison and three at Lambeth and was then released for a month, on account of sickness, giving security to pay the fine on her return to gaol.[5] Before the year ended she was back again, this time in Winchester House, and undergoing a close examination, because her gaol-keeper declared she was able to make "some discoveries of public advantage."[6]

[1] *Cal. of Proc. of Ctee. for Advance of Money*, p. 173 (January, 1644).
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 290 (May, 1644). [3] *Ibid.*, p. 373. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 438.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 385.
[6] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Ch. I*, 1645-1647, vol. 513 (Jan. 1, 1645-6) p. 296.

One supporter of the Parliament, a Sergeant-at-Arms, Thomas Turner, was detained at Lambeth for excessive zeal in arresting Sir John Lawrence of Iver at the gate of Haberdashers' Hall, when he had come thither on lawful business.[1] Colonel John Ogle was secured by the keepers in March 1645: he was a son of the famous soldier Sir John Ogle of Pinchbeck, who served for nearly thirty years in the Low Countries. He had come to town expecting to benefit by the special conditions offered to any who presented themselves before the Committee of Examinations before March 25th, and intending immediately to join his mother, sisters and friends in the Netherlands; instead he was arrested and committed to Lambeth House, whence he petitioned for release, on the plea that he had engaged "never directly or indirectly to do anything against the Parliament."[2]

As the days went on the prisoners arrived not singly but by scores, and the overcrowded conditions were soon made evident by terrible outbreaks of gaol-fever, which spread into the neighbouring streets.[3] Nearly all of a hundred deprived ministers brought captive from the West of England and "clapp'd up in Lambeth House" died of a pestilential fever. The disaster of Naseby brought about a fresh influx of prisoners and the Burial Registers of Lambeth Parish Church during the months of July and August hint at a high mortality among them. One at least, Sir George Bunkley, a Royalist of repute who had shown great gallantry in the relief of Basing died of 'hard usage'; the sorrows of the rest are hidden in a mournful oblivion: for the most part their names alone remain:

1645 July the 3	Ralph Peereson	a prisoner in Cant. House.
„ „ the 11	Thomas Parmenter	do.
„ „ the 16	John Lansley	do.
„ „ the 22	John Gardiner	do.

[1] *Cal. of Proc. of Ctee. for Advance of Money*, p. 398.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. VI, p. 104.

[3] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. V, p. 92.

1645 August the 2	William Marquese	a prisoner in Cant. House.
„ „ „ 7	ffredericke Lewes	do.
„ „ „ 9	Nicholas Patrycke	do.
„ „ „ 12	Nathaniel Gidings	do.
„ „ „ 13	Sir George Bunkley	do.
„ „ „ 15	Lieftenant Ward	do.
„ „ „ 15	Richard Swarbracke	do.
„ „ „ 20	David Hewes	do.
„ „ „ 23	Thomas Paulet gent.	do.
„ September the 3	Thomas Lewes, gent.	do.
„ „ „ 15	Nicholas Smith	do.
„ October the 21	Evan Griffine	do.
„ December the fourth	Mr. Thomas West	do.

John Gardiner was perhaps the loyal servant of the King so-named who for many years had been Comptroller and Collector of Customs. He excited the enmity of certain wealthy merchants by drawing attention to their evasions of the law, and getting them heavily fined, and just before the outbreak of hostilities they attempted to ruin him by a charge of peculation brought in the Star Chamber.[1]

The narrative of the Kentish Squire, Sir Roger Twysden, brings vividly to mind the conditions which obtained at Lambeth House just before and after the fight at Naseby. Twysden was removed from the loathsome Counter Prison, to ' the wholesome one at Lambeth ' (after a short term in a ship called the *Prosperous Sarah*, riding in the Thames), by the kind offices of his brother-in-law, Sir Christopher Yelverton, early in 1644.[2] He was then still in ignorance of the grounds of his imprisonment, but he procured a certificate from the Committee of Kent alleging that the sequestration of his estate was brought about by " many concurrent causes," such as his flight to France in disguise, his share in the Kentish Rebellion, and his general refractoriness towards the proceedings of the Parliament, most of which charges he utterly denied. In the

[1] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Charles I, Addenda*, 1625-1649, vol. 538.83 (1639).

[2] *Arch. Cant.*, vol. iii, p. 166 (1860).

summer of 1644 his ' noble friends ' Sir Edward Monyngs and Sir Thomas Slytes, visited him at Lambeth to advise him against having his case referred to the Committeee of Kent, which, far more even than the Committee at Westminster, was passionately bent upon his ruin. After urgent and repeated petitions, Lady Twysden succeeded in securing from the parliamentary committee a fifth part of her husband's estate, his mansion house and the land adjoining. This did not put a stop to the felling of the oak-woods, even on her allotted portion. One plantation in particular, Stokenbury Wood, which Twysden and his forefathers for generations had used for rafters and other building purposes, was " assigned for Fewell to ye City of London." [1] Throughout the protracted negotiations, constantly nullified by breaches of faith and a spirit of revenge, Lady Twysden acted for her husband with unsparing energy. In the Counter she had been his fellow-prisoner ; now she came to visit and console him. " She came to me at Lambeth," he writes, " of wch I was not a little joyed ; as one had much wanted her yt was indeede both a wise and temperat sollicitrix." [2] Twysden attributed a " double quartan ague " from which she suffered to these visits, to the contagion of the Naseby prisoners or the shock of seeing Sir George Bunkley in his extremity, and the anxiety she endured on her husband's account. With an admirable industry and self-control Twysden occupied his enforced leisure in serious study. " This year," he tells us, " my dear Wife looking after my businesse, I had the liberty of following my studies ; and finding humane nature can never bee absolutely idle, put out ye Lawes of Henry ye I, compared wth the red booke in the Exchequer, never beefore printed, and ioyned them with the Saxon Lawes set out by Mr. Lambert 1568 and with those of the Conqueror, publist by Mr. Selden . . . and so past them to ye presse wth a preface of my owne ; wch is ye first I ever appeared in print."

His preface is dated " Ex aedibus Lamethanis 13 Cal. Junii 1645." To assist his labours he borrowed books from

[1] *Arch. Cant.*, vol. iv, p. 164. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 169.

Sir Symonds Dewes, the Diarist, for within his prison walls no other solace was granted him.

June, 1644.—Mr. Knightley, Chairman of the Committee for Prisoners, allowed, as a great concession, one visit from Sir Roger's brother, Francis, and permitted the prisoner to 'walk in the guarden' with his keeper. As the keeper refused to attend him in his walks, the privilege amounted to little.

In March, 1645, a warrant reached Lambeth summoning Twysden to appear at Goldsmiths' Hall, where he learned that the House of Commons had assessed his fine at £3,000.[1] "The immenseness of this Summe imposed on me," is his comment, "without ever beeing heard or sent unto: not acquainted by me how my estate stoode; not knowing what I could say for myself; made me see the Star Chamber was remoeved to ye other end of Westminister Hall." He was however, at last released, and left Lambeth House on February 20, 1646, a ruined man, after an imprisonment of two years less two days.

As befitted a historian, Twysden looked critically into the methods of coercion under which he had suffered, particularly the commitment by the House of Commons, the length of his detention and the exorbitant charges which, in common with his fellow-prisoners, oppressed him. Under official instructions the keeper was permitted at a prisoner's entrance to demand a fee graduated according to his quality: 20s. for ordinary folk, forty for esquires and knights, 5 marks, but not more, for those of exalted rank, and in addition a reasonable rent for the accommodation provided, "abating to such as shall find their own furniture so much as it would cost to bee hyred of an Upholster."[2] These orders did little or nothing to restrain the rapacity of the serjeants. Twysden's gaoler, Serjeaunt Hunt, made a daily demand of £1 6s. 8d; his prisoner "compounded with him at an easier rate, he being indeede a civil person," but even so paid him "15 pound as fees only."[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 146. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 176. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

Other prisoners bargained for an inclusive sum to cover the whole term, long or short, of their detention, but by this expedient they ran the risk of a speedy removal to another prison where ' after flawing ' they were to be ' excoriated.' " In short," adds Twysden, " there was no securyty of not beeing by them or their Agents ruined but to have nothing they could reach. Lord of thy mercy graunt England may never see ye like tymes again . . ."

Nor had he better treatment in the matter of accommodation. On entering the prison he was assigned part of a lodging formerly used by one of the Archbishop's chaplains. The little suite, probably in Morton's Tower, contained three rooms and a study, the largest " a fayr chamber, with a chimney for enterteynment"; and a closet attached, "made, I conceive, for hanging hys gownes and other vestments." To Twysden's portion fell the two smaller rooms. For these he was mulcted in 12 shillings a week, a sum he paid unwillingly for some six months, when, seeing no likelihood of release, he went to Dr. Leighton and refused to pay any longer. If the subordinates were rapacious, the Keeper, whom in some respects Twysden thought " no ill-dispositioned person," loved money, and refused to abate the rent by one penny. " Though," adds Twysden, " he were very ritch ; for I myself saw of hys at one tyme so much brought into that house as two Porters could hardly carry in great baskets to ye porch from ye waterside without resting ; and thense through the hall to hys lodging gave them their fill. It was sayd to have been above two thousand pounds."

Twysden persisted in his refusal to add to Leighton's hoards, and was in consequence so rigorously used that a month later he appealed to Mr. Knightley, Chairman of the Committee for Prisoners, complaining that since his coming into that house he had " payd above 15 Pounds for bare walls, three payr of stayrs high, beeing the lodging of one onely person of the many belonged to the Archbishop . . . " The Committee were graciously pleased to compound for a further thirty odd pounds which the impoverished squire had

great difficulty in scraping together. In August 1645 conditions were again tightened for the unfortunate captives. No servants might now be admitted to wait upon them, consequently all provision had to be brought in by the Keeper's servants and was sold at excessive rates. This hit Sir Roger very hard, for he had, as he says, " much I ate and all I burnt out of Kent," from the remnant of his estate. His former friends, Yelverton and Knightley, again intervened, and he was permitted fuel of his own finding.

A fellow-prisoner of Sir Roger who owed release to his wife's devotion, was Dr. Guy Carleton, who had been ejected by ' the Triers ' from his living of Bucklersbury in Berkshire, and rigorously confined at Lambeth House. Mistress Carleton, conveyed to him a cord by the help of which he let himself down " through the window towards the Thames." A boat was ready alongside to carry him away, but the cord proved too short. He was obliged to drop from it to reach the ground, and in falling dislocated one of his legs. He was, however, safely conveyed to a place of concealment.[1] For long he depended upon his wife's labours, even upon the sale of her bedding, for his bodily needs, but eventually he escaped overseas to King Charles. At the Restoration his loyalty was rewarded by a Royal Chaplaincy, the Deanery of Carlisle and the Bishopric of Bristol (1672), whence he was translated to Chichester (1679) : he was consecrated in Henry VII's chapel.

Other sufferers with Twysden were the Berkshire Knight, Sir Edward Yates, and two London citizens, Alderman Abell and Daniel Harvey, an influential merchant of great reputation who had been, in Laud's day, his welcome guest at the Palace of Croydon. In 1648 the Royalist poet, Richard Lovelace, was confined at Lambeth for a time, but liberated after the execution of King Charles.[2] About 1647 steps were taken to strengthen the defences of Lambeth House and it

[1] Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part ii, p. 214.

[2] Occurrences from Foreign Parts, Aug. 23-30, 1659 (Cave-Browne, p. 239).

was rumoured that a fort was to be constructed there.[1] On the occasion of a rising in Surrey a company of foot was sent " to preserve it from the malignants " ; another forty or fifty men were added to the garrison, to prevent a surprise, and it was ordered that for the future a good guard should constantly be kept.[2] As a further precaution against the confluence of citizens to the Surrey shore, the horse-ferry boats from Lambeth to Shepperton were fastened up on the Middlesex side from sunset to sunrise, and guarded, so that even in the day-time none but market people, and those on State business who were provided with passes, might cross the river.[3]

About this time[4] the house was divided into several tenements ; two of these were inhabited by Mr. Thomas Scot, Secretary to the Council of State and one of the regicides, and by Matthew Hardy. Aubrey tells us further that the " stately Hall was demolished," and " the High Commission Court was made a Dancing-School." The chapel was divided into two parts, that to the eastward serving as a dining-room, after the pavement had been taken up and a board-flooring substituted.[5]

These transactions do not appear to have affected the State prisons, which were probably in Chichele's Tower and in Morton's Gate-house ; nor did they much reduce the already meagre accommodation ; for the prison records continue until the Restoration. In June, 1653, a consignment of 500 prisoners was sent up the river in boats from Gravesend, to be delivered at the horse-ferry, where they were supplied with bread and beer. These were no doubt Dutchmen, captured after Blake's victory in February, and

[1] *Clarendon S. P.*, 2714, p. 410.

[2] *Cal. Dom. S. P.*, 1648-1649, vol. 516, pp. 83 and 161.7. (1648, May 27 and July 4.)

[3] *Ibid.*. p. 171 (1648 July 7).

[4] Cave-Browne, p. 238, gives date 1648.

[5] Aubrey, *loc. cit.*, p. 272. This may simply refer to the chapel and ante-chapel divided by the screen. For Hardy, see p. 175 *infra.*

some at least were probably destined for Lambeth House.[1] In the ensuing years the names of certain individuals, for one reason or another, stand out from the fragmentary record and illustrate the misery and confusion which the wars had brought on all classes of the community. Thus, Robert Manley, a merchant imprisoned for having forged Government debentures during the Dutch War when he could not exercise his calling, petitioned for release because the business to which he had been bred had gone to pieces.[2] Another merchant, Major Timothy Cruso had had his ' studies sealed ' and the key taken by the messenger ; but claimed he had always been faithful to the Parliament[3] and had spent his own money to keep his troops together.

One William Rooke, trading with foreign parts, was imprisoned on the vague suspicion that a guest at his house at Margate, a certain M. de Gard, a mere casual acquaintance, was a dangerous conspirator. Rooke had never been in arms against the Parliament, and to his great relief his innocence was recognised and he was set free in time to get in his harvest. He departed from Lambeth leaving unpaid Keeper Dendy's demands for 10s. a day provision-money.[4] Robert Jonson after fifteen months in Dorchester prison and fourteen weeks at Lambeth, also begged for release : he had a better opinion of the Keeper than was usual ; " but for the pity of the Serjeant-at-arms I must have starved." [5] Palmer, printer of proclamations to Charles I, who died a prisoner in Lambeth House, had removed his business to Reading, and on its surrender lost by fire all his goods and books to the value of £900 : he then sold his property to raise a troop of horse for the King, and was captured at the battle of Worcester.[6]

[1] *Cal. Dom. S. P.*, 1652, vol. 54.165. p. 607.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1655, vol. 94.9, 1654-5 (Jan. 6).

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 100.103 (Sept. 11).

[4] *Ibid.*, 1655.6, vol. 102.8, p. 47.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1655, vol. 95.85 (March 30).

[6] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Charles II*, 1663-1664, vol. 85.32.

The country's rulers had sometimes to proceed against their own adherents. During the Barebones Parliament, Sir John Bramston visited Sir John Lenthall of Haseley Manor, Co. Oxford, in Lambeth Prison.[1] Lenthall, a brother of the Speaker, William Lenthall, had held the office of Marshal of the King's Bench, and Governor of the Upper Bench and Marshalsea prisons, the latter, by a grim joke, being known as ' Sir John Lenthall's Mansion House.'[2] His rule gave so little satisfaction to his prisoners, and complainants were so clamorous that the Council of State, in 1654, instituted proceedings against him ;[3] in spite of a petition, signed by about 120 inhabitants of St. George's and St. Saviour's, Southwark, testifying to his good and peaceable conduct, his prudence in settling disputes and his charitable disposition, he was committed to gaol.[4]

William Cham of Wood Street, an officer to the Sheriff of London was taken into custody in mistake for another man but obtained his release in a few weeks.[5]

The prisoners were not all ' malignants ' but in some cases were detained for ' criminal ' offences. Captain William Pearse of the *Scout*, a prisoner during 1654, had unlawfully seized the *Sea-Horse* of Zealand, bound for Rouen from the Low Countries and laden with train-oil, linen and tobacco, the property of French traders.[6] Browne, a notorious counterfeiter of debentures, was under sentence in Lambeth at the same time.[7] John Timberley, another sailor, steward of the *Deliverance*, had been convicted of counterfeiting certain ' tickets ' and thereby drawing the rations and wages of two shipmates, discharged for sickness.[8]

The women-prisoners were probably few in number. Of

[1] *Autobiography of Sir John Bramston* (Cam. Soc. 1845), p. 90.

[2] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Commonwealth*, 1652-1653, vol. 35.153.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1653-54, vol. 65.45. [4] *Cal. Dom. S. P.*, 1653-1654, vol. 66.28 29.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1654, vol. 74.82 (Aug. 18).

[6] The *Sea-Horse* was brought to Dover and restored to her Master, Paul Andrew. *Cal. Dom. S. P.*, 1654, vol. 77.32.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 77.82. [8] *Ibid.*, 1655, vol. 99.18.

one of these, Mrs. Anne Hyde, the pathetic story is told in detail by Dr. John Cosin,[1] in a letter written from Paris to her brother Lord Clarendon at Bruges.

Cosin learnt the details from his daughter, a great friend of Mrs. Hyde, who was in London at the time, and she from two eye-witnesses of the closing scene, the maid who had served her mistress for twenty-three years and a Mrs. Chaffin who attempted to solace her dying hours. Mrs. Hyde had been staying quietly in the country at a Mrs. Ayliffe's [2] house for about five weeks when one Sunday morning three armed men, messengers from " ye new Councel of Mr. Cromwell's State," and an officer from the neighbouring town entered her room, violently possessed themselves of her belongings and searched her pockets for papers, finding only what concerned her private affairs. They then took her away to Marlborough, without allowing her time to eat, although they kept her there till the following Tuesday, waiting until the mail coach started for London. Her maid and Mrs. Ayliffe's man were allowed to wait upon her but " ye rude soldiers put her inn such a fright yt she slept not all ye way." Arrived in London she was carried before the Council and after two hours' suspense, committed, without examination, to strict custody till their pleasure should be known. She and her maid were conveyed by an officer to his house in Westminster. There her ill-usage was redoubled ; she was driven into paroxysms of terror by the threats of her captors, who broke into her room at night on the pretext that she would be found writing treasonable letters, or called for muskets and pistols, pretending that she had attempted to escape, and when her maid came to her in the morning she found her senses gone. She revived sufficiently to tell her story, but having ended it " fell againe into such a distraction that she never recovered her perfect mind more till about 6 houres

[1] Cosin was chaplain to the Protestant members of Henrietta Maria's exiled court.

[2] Clarendon's first wife was a daughter of Sir George Ayliffe of Wiltshire.

before her death." Her great dread was the being carried off elsewhere to prison and indeed, six days later, they took her away by force and shut her up at Lambeth.[1] There she remained, distraught, for a week, but at last one morning, in the early dawn, her tortured spirit regained its liberty. The scene of her death is surely one of the most pathetic that Lambeth has ever witnessed :

" My daughter to whom she had sent her man," says Cosin's simple narrative, " was not suffered to enter into her chamber. Mr. Thriscrosse prevayled to have a Minister of her acquaintance to attend her and to pray by her, but she knew him not and yet she prayed, with him and without him, all the time of her trouble ; of other matters she spake not a word, but that she said once she had nothing but innocencie and God to preserve her from ye rage of her rude keepers. Six hours before she dyed she lay very quietly and fainted away while praying. She disposed of nothing that she had and my daughter tells me that what was left is kept very close, though she believes it was not much. Mrs. Chaffin got her buryed but ye maid knows not how." " And thus," the letter concludes, " I have related you all that my daughter (who is very sad at it) was able to write, but I will number yor sister among them that have ye glory of martyrs . . . "

In April, 1657, a group of prisoners of very different calibre reached Lambeth House. These were a number of the Fifth Monarchy men so-called,—" very obstinate and resolute fellows and will not put off their hats to the Protector and *thou* him at every word," amongst whom a deep-laid plot had been disclosed, backed by many arms, much ammunition and gold to the value of some five or six thousand pounds. The Protector at Whitehall spent two nights till two or three in the morning examining his prisoners, who belonged either

[1] A feature of gaol life under the Commonwealth was the way the prisoners were shifted about from place to place. Lambeth was often only one of a series of prisons. The Royalist, Mr. John Rogers, was drafted from there to Windsor Castle, thence to Sandham Castle in the Isle of Wight, under escort of Cornet Joseph Strangeways, who received £8 for himself and 40s. for the guard of soldiers. *Cal. Dom. S. P.*, March 30, 1655.

to the "murderous faction of Syndercombe," a Quartermaster of General Monk sent to the Tower some months before, or to the group of religious fanatics under Colonel Harrison, vowed to the assassination of the Lord Protector.[1] In June of the same year three or four Cavaliers, who had attempted insurrection in the West, were seized with a few arms and closely confined in Lambeth House.[2]

After the Naseby entries, no prisoners' names appear in the Lambeth Church Burial Registers for several years. That many died in the neighbouring prison we know but too well; probably their friends, like poor Mrs. Hyde's, conveyed away the bodies by stealth. On 23rd April, 1657, is recorded the burial of "Thomas Buckley, gentleman, prisoner in Canterbury House," an entry which discloses the last act in a sordid drama. Buckley held the office of Accountant-General and was associated with Alderman Samuel Avery, a Customs' Commissioner, his son Dudley Avery, a Receiver, and other persons, in the misappropriation of large public funds, and the consequent falsifying of public accounts. Buckley and one, if not both, of the Averys, were apprehended in February, 1655 by Sergeant Dendy and detained at Lambeth.[3] The elder Avery, in his defence, affirmed that they had saved "£26,000 in salaries, and lent Parliament £105,000 in their greatest necessities and most dangerous times."[4] Buckley did not live to defend himself, though he suffered nearly two years' imprisonment before death released him. Another public peculator at Lambeth was John Parry, Receiver-General for the monthly assessments at Carnarvon. He, however, was able to 'perfect his account' and after considerable delays was discharged.[5]

August 27, 1657.—The last prisoner's death recorded in

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. V, pt. i, p. 163, and cf. Cave-Browne, p. 240.

[2] *Cal. Clar. State Papers*, vol. iii, p. 322, No. 973 (1657, June 30).

[3] *Cal. Dom. S. P.*, 1655-1656, vol. 126.14 and 15 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 578).

[4] *Ibid.*, 1656-1657, vol. 129.154.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 130.23 and 35.

the Lambeth Register is that of John Michell, of whom no details are known.

As the symptoms of restless discontent under the Commonwealth regime, incipient risings, divided loyalties, spread throughout the country, preparing the way for Charles's return, the prisoners at Lambeth bore increasing witness to the desperate position and angry suspicions of the Roundhead party. Charles, 8th Earl of Derby (a son of the seventh Earl, James, captured in disguise after the battle of Worcester and beheaded at Bolton in 1651, and of the Countess who so heroically defended Latham House and the Isle of Man against the Roundhead troops [1]), the Earl of Stamford,[2] the young Earl of Chesterfield and Sir Thomas Armstrong, were all committed during 1659, but the days of rigour had gone by and their turn was short. Major General Overton, late of Cromwell's Army, was also ordered to the dungeons, to attend the Parliament, but his progress thither was like a triumphal procession ; immense crowds of people awaited his coming, riding " in the boote of a coach " and bowing and waving his hat as he passed along ; they prevented his escort from turning out of the road to Lambeth and finally the soldiers on guard at the Tilt Yard took him on their own responsibility " to a house beyond James's " and after candlelight he was allowed to join his wife at the George in King Street.[3]

Only five weeks before the Restoration, Colonel John Bennett of Uxbridge, and John Risdon (who while imprisoned at Lambeth, broke his leg) were set free.[4] Among the last of the prisoners must have been a sea-captain, Henry Millett of the *Judith*, Jersey,[5] who remained but twelve days, and Major John Braman, who wrote to General Monk, asking, as he had

[1] Cave-Browne, p. 240.

[2] Clarke Papers (Cam. Soc.), vol. iv, p. 50 (Sept. 5, 1659).

[3] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 184.

[4] Cave-Browne, p. 242, *note*. (Cf. *Cal. Dom. S. P.*, 1660, vol. 13.47, 128.)

[5] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. VII, p. 83a.

been elected member for Stockbridge, that the House would demand his release.[1]

Dr. Alexander Leighton ceased to occupy the ignoble post of gaoler probably about 1646 and the name of his immediate successor is uncertain. Towards the close of the Commonwealth, the infamous Edward Dendy, who had been Serjeant-at-arms at the trial of Charles I and had received from the Officer of the Ordnance in the Tower, " the bright axe for the execution of malefactors," was rewarded with the post. He had already been governor of the Marshalsea, where he was accused of letting his prisoners escape. At Lambeth he seems to have surpassed even Leighton in his avarice, for he fled the country at the close of 1659, on the Government devolving on the Council of State, fearing to face the charges of extortion and peculation which hung over his head. His name was included in the proclamation against the murderers of Charles I.[2] He was succeeded at Lambeth by Sir James Norfolk, who was afterwards Sergeant-at-Arms in Ordinary to King Charles II.[3]

Apart from the pages of history, the prisoners of various ages have left their record upon the walls of Lambeth.

On the wooden ' costers ' of the small chamber rightly called Lollards' Tower, and the stones of the prison at the base of Morton's Gateway, names and sentences are cut, which date for the most part from the fifteenth century. It has not so far been possible to identify these names with any of the prisoners elsewhere recorded.

[1] MSS. of F. W. Leyborne-Popham, Esq. (1899), p. 178 (April 24, 1660).

[2] Cave-Browne, p. 243.

[3] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Report IX, p. 121a. (Journals of H. of Lords, June 26, 1678.)

CHAPTER X

AT THE RESTORATION

(i) THE SURVEY OF 1647

On the death of Archbishop Laud, a survey and valuation of his possessions, including his "Manner of Lambeth," was made, under parliamentary commission, by John Reading, Peter Mills, John Embree, Richard Wade and William Mason. Everything was to be sold for the use of the Commonwealth.

The detailed schedule of the manorial property is of great value to the Lambeth historian.[1] The site at this time, including the mansion and outbuildings, the orchard and gardens, contained about fourteen acres. The commissioners are supposed to begin their progress at "the greate staires or Bridge called Lambeth Bridge," and to land "into the Pallace Yard, where are growinge seaven Elme Trees and two Willowes." They next turn into the Great Gate, with "one faire Chamber over it covered with lead," while to east and west of them are the Porter's Lodge and the Evidence Chamber respectively. Thence they pass through the Court-yard, divided from the river by a brick wall. On their right is now the Great Hall; opposite them Laud's Tower, four storeys high, newly completed, and behind it, approached by a staircase at the west-end of the Chapel, Chicheley's five-storied building, surmounted by Lollards' Tower with its leaden hood. Thus far we can follow their progress step by step; we can pursue them also into the chapel, and the 'greate Seller' beneath it, up the stone staircase to the

[1] Printed in *Surrey Archaeol. Coll.*, vol. xli (1894-5).

LAMBETH PALACE FROM THE NORTH-EAST, 1784.
From an engraving by Sparrow in Ducarel's History of the Palace.

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chambers on five floors of Cranmer's Tower, and into " the large Roome called the Greate Chamber " which is the Guard Room.

The rest can now be seen only with the mind's eye. Gone is the four-square cloister—surrounding a courtyard with a great well in the midst—and the galleried library on its upper floor. Gone are the dining parlour and the dining chamber, looking north, and the " faire long Wainscotted Gallery," Pole's Gallery, " with a tarras walke under it open towards the Garden " ; the three wainscotted chambers where Parker and Whitgift and Laud had lodged ; the sunny kitchen garden upon which they looked out ; " Crooked Lane " where the household servants slept of nights after the day's honest toil. From the garden also, the " longe tarras walle " along the north wall, paved with square tiles and furnished with an arcade and an upper leaden promenade for bad weather, and the banqueting house, have vanished for ever, as well as the orchard on the south side, set with apple, pear and plum trees, and moated round about.

The remarkable purpose to which, on Aubrey's showing, the Puritans assigned the High Commission Court, Morton's stately chamber over the entrance gate, has already been mentioned. Their known views on the unholy subject of dancing make it incredible that, as Strype declares, they attempted also to turn the eastern portion of the chapel into a hall or dancing room. Be that as it may, for some reason, perhaps for wanton malice, they dragged from its station on the south side of the altar, from the very place where Matthew Parker was wont to pray, his venerable tomb of black marble. Nor was this enough indignity ; the sarcophagus was broken open, the lead enclosing the good man's body was plucked off and sold ; his poor bones were buried in a dunghill in the palace yard.[1]

[1] Strype, *Life of Parker*, p. 498.

(ii) ARCHBISHOP JUXON REBUILDS THE GREAT HALL

William Juxon, 1660-63.—When at last the days of civil strife were at an end, and the King came into his own again, one man, Dr. William Juxon, who had ministered to Charles I on the scaffold, and suffered violence at the hands of Cromwell's soldiers, was marked out in spite of his advanced age, by the distinction of loyalty and of saintly character to fill Laud's vacant place.

He held the archbishopric for a brief three years, and in that time attempted, in one important particular, to restore Lambeth Palace to its former dignity. He began the rebuilding of the Great Hall on the old site and of the old proportions. He scarcely perhaps expected to see the work completed, and left explicit directions in his will, " If I happen to die before the Hall at Lambeth be finisht, that my Executor be at the charge of finishing it, according to the Modell made of it, if my successor shall give leave." [1]

The cost of such a prodigious recension of Gothic massiveness in the seventeenth century was naturally very heavy. The Hall, 93 feet long by 38 feet wide and 50 feet in height, cost £10,500 to rebuild: Juxon's heir complained, not specifically about the Hall, but generally, of the vast sums he was required to lay out on reconstituting the archiepiscopal residences.[2]

There are questions about the re-building which still remain unsolved: who was the originator of the ' Modell ' upon which the builders worked? Many of the details suggest the hand of Sir Christopher Wren. Was the old hall completely gutted by Scot, or were portions of the massive old walls embodied in the new work? Pepys' words seem to point to an entirely new building. His Diary relates:

July 22, 1665.—" The Duke of Albemarle being gone to dinner to my Lord of Canterbury's, I thither, and there

[1] Le Neve, *loc cit.*, p. 160.

[2] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Charles II*, 1670, p. 685. (Sept. 1663.)

walked, and viewed the new Hall, *a new old-fashioned Hall as much as possible* ; begun and the means left for the ending of it by Bishop Juxon." [1] On this occasion the Diarist was content to survey the outside, but four years later, it is interesting to recall, he twice went to Lambeth with Wren himself, and on the second occasion enjoyed the hospitality of Archbishop Sheldon.[2] Juxon was not content without a restitution of a very different kind.

July, 1661.—Shortly after the Restoration, Robert Pory, at this time his Chaplain-in-Ordinary, no doubt at the Archbishop's instigation, complained in a petition to the House of Lords that " Matthew Hardy, having become joint purchaser with the infamous and lately executed traitor Scot, of Lambeth House, and particularly of the chapel, did, out of professed enmity to the Episcopal order and his sacrilegious and covetous mind, cause the body of Matthew Parker, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, to be taken out of its tomb, and, for the base gain of the lead in which it was wrapped, to be stripped and thrown into some obscure hole, which he cannot by any persuasions be induced to discover." Pory begged that Hardy might at least be required to reveal where the bones of the Archbishop rested, " in order that they may be restored to the place where they were first deposited, in the Chapel (which is now repairing), as the monument is still extant, and capable of being again fixed in the place where originally it was erected." [3] Action was taken without delay, but six months later Pory the indefatigable was obliged to present a second petition. Matthew Hardy, he said, had in the previous July been convicted before a Committee of the House of Lords of " a most sacrilegious and inhuman act, of taking up the body of Matthew Parker, despoiling it of the lead wherein it was wrapt and throwing it into a dunghill," and had been ordered to take up the bones, restore them to their former place of burial and to erect a

[1] *Diary of Samuel Pepys* (Braybrooke 1825), vol. i, p. 353.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 341 and 342 (May 14, 1669).

[3] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, App. to Rep. VII, p. 149.

tomb over the spot. It was now December ; nothing at all had been done, and, in Pory's opinion, Hardy clearly deserved punishment for adding wilful disobedience to his former " abominable violence." [1] Hardy apparently thought it wise to take immediate steps to clear himself, for, before the end of January, he too petitioned the Lords, explaining that he had not failed to take up the bones of Archbishop Parker, and, having coffined them, had intended to replace them in their former tomb. " Some of the now Archbishop's gentlemen " had however declared the Archbishop to be entirely satisfied and intending to carry out the actual burial himself. In proof a certificate bearing the names of John Boys and Robert Pory was attached to the petition.[2] It was little wonder that Juxon, having rescued Parker's remains from unholy hands, wished himself to perform the last office. They were quietly brought back to the chapel, and buried " just above the Letany-Deske, neere to the Steps ascending to the Altar." For the moment nothing more was done, but after some years one of Archbishop Sheldon's servants pointed out the place to the historian, Sir William Dugdale, and he in turn to Archbishop Sancroft, intreating him that a stone might be put to mark the grave.[3] On a square of marble Sancroft caused the words to be inscribed " Corpus Matthæi Archiepiscopi tandem hic quiescit," and in the ante-chapel he re-erected the former monument, adding a Latin epitaph graphically describing the tragedy of the rifled tomb.[4]

Only nine English bishops survived the Commonwealth, and at Charles II's accession many sees were vacant. The new consecrations took place for the most part in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster, but John Hackett, Bishop of Lichfield, Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford (1661), Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter (1662), and Joseph Henshaw, Bishop of Peterborough (1663) were, amongst others at this time, consecrated in Lambeth Chapel.[5]

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, App. to Rep. VII, p. 152. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[3] *Diary and Corresp. of Sir W. Dugdale* (ed. Hamper, 1827), p. 423.
[4] Ducarel, p. 29. [5] Le Neve, *loc. cit.*, pp. 150, 156-7.

(iii) SHELDON OF ALL SOULS

Gilbert Sheldon, 1663-78.—Like his predecessor, Gilbert Sheldon, the next Archbishop, had been a confidential servant of Charles I. "No man," says Dr. Montagu Burrows, in a description of Sheldon freed from the political animus of earlier biographies, "had a greater share in keeping his party together during their adversity. No man exercised more authority in the re-settlement of affairs at the Restoration. Consequently no man's memory has been more bitterly attacked by the opponents of his principles. No man has been so successfully deprived of his just title to respect if not to admiration." [1]

Sheldon's part in Lambeth history is characteristic both of the man and of his age. In the plague-year he remains unperturbed at his house, through all the time of greatest danger, preserving numbers alive by his "diffusive charity," busying himself in writing to brother-bishops such letters, out of a full heart, that great sums of money for the relief of sufferers pour in from every part of his province.[2] He extends the same sympathy to the settlers in Maryland, twenty thousand souls almost destitute of religious ministrations, and urges the promotion of missionary effort for their benefit.[3] From time to time a wave of the frivolity which marked the Restoration Court washes up at his very door; when Catharine of Braganza "gives life to all by frequent divertisements upon the river in her new vessel the *Sodalis*," the gay picnic-parties, starting out on long voyages, fall short of provisions, and stop for supplies sometimes at Vauxhall, sometimes at Lambeth Palace.[4]

Nor was Sheldon himself altogether guiltless of an attitude towards serious matters cynical to say the least, which to-day would not be tolerated in his position. There was, for

[1] *Worthies of All Souls*, Montagu Burrows (1874), p. 142.

[2] Le Neve, *loc. cit.*, p. 183.

[3] *Cal. S. P. Colonial Series*, America and the West Indies, 1675-76. No. 1005 (Aug. 2, 1676).

[4] *Cal. Dom. S. P. Charles II* (1670), p. 175 (April 21).

example, the occasion of Pepys' first dinner-party, long-anticipated, upon the introduction of 'Mr. Wren' at Lambeth. With what gusto the Diarist describes the dignified house, the good pictures and furniture, the 'noble attendance' and numerous guests, the "exceeding good cheer, nowhere better," the Archbishop's impressive hospitality. "Most of the company gone and I going," he confides to his Diary, "I heard by a gentleman of a sermon that was to be there; and so I staid to hear it, thinking it serious, till by and by the gentleman told me it was a mockery by one Cornet Bolton, a very gentleman-like man, that behind a chair did pray and preach like a Presbyter Scot, with all the possible imitation in grimaces and voice. And his text about the hanging up their harps upon the willows; and a serious good sermon too, exclaiming against Bishops and crying up of my good Lord Eglinton, till it made us all burst; but I did wonder to have the Bishop at this time to make himself sport with things of this kind, but I perceive it was shewn him as a rarity. And he took care to have the room-door shut, but there were about twenty gentlemen there: and myself infinitely pleased with the novelty."[1]

With, it must be said, a like irresponsibility, the Archbishop officiated surely at the strangest wedding ever celebrated in the Great Chapel. On a May morning in 1672, he united John Power, not eight years old, a grandson of the Earl of Anglesey, to Mrs. Katherine Fitzgerald, his cousin-german, a girl of about thirteen. "I gave her in the chapel there," the bridegroom's grandfather complacently records, "and they answered as well as those of greater age. The wedding dinner and supper I gave them, and the rest of the day, and till 12 at night, was spent in dancing etc., and they lay in my house. I did duties and commended them to God's blessing."[2]

[1] *Diary of Samuel Pepys* (Braybrooke 1825), vol. ii, p. 342.

[2] Diary of the Earl of Anglesey, MSS. of Lieut. General Lyttelton Annesley. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. XIII., app. vi, p. 275. There is no reference to this marriage in the printed list of Allegations in the Faculty Office or in the Lambeth Acts Books.

Sheldon, perhaps the most distinguished of the Wardens of All Souls College, Oxford, did not lose his interest in the education of youth when he was called to the primacy. Young noblemen and gentlemen, sent by their parents for the Archbishop's admonition, resorted daily to his house. The man who had the courage to rebuke the King's vices and even to refuse him the Sacrament[1] could give admirable counsel to the younger generation, all too likely to be led astray by evil example. " Let it be your principal care," he urged them, " to become honest men . . . No piety will be of any advantage to yourselves or anybody else unless you are honest and moral men." [2] To men of learning he was, as a learned man, always a generous patron. Early one morning Anthony à Wood, the Antiquary, was proceeding leisurely down Whitehall, to borrow some MSS. from the Cottonian Library when he met Dr. John Fell, Dr. Richard Allestree and Dr. Thomas Yate, who had been at morning prayer in Whitehall Chapel. They told him that the Archbishop that day was entertaining at dinner the Oxford Scholars in London, and that if by chance before noon he came upon any Doctors or Masters, he must pass on the hospitable invitation. This Wood somehow contrived to do, and he crossed the water to Lambeth at twelve of the clock in their company, having duly possessed himself of his MSS. " When they came there," continues the narrative, " the Archbishop was at the Council Table at Whitehall with the King, and did not returne till one of the Clock. In the meane time the Doctors and Masters entertained themselves with Pictures and other Rarities in the gallery and had Divers Discourses." One at least of the learned guests, Dr. Richard Allestree, Regius Professor of Divinity and Provost of Eton, had been at Lambeth, as a prisoner, sick and suffering, for some weeks during the Commonwealth.[3]

[1] Burrows, *loc. cit.*, p. 222. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

[3] *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, art. Allestree. In the gallery, it will be remembered, some of Cardinal Pole's pictures were hung and many portraits of the Archbishops.

At last the Archbishop entered, in company with Dr. Fell. Wood fortunately was standing near the door, and was at once introduced to Sheldon as a noteworthy personage, the author of a history of the University. The scene recalls irresistibly that other, centuries before, between Stafford and the complacent Mayor of Exeter. Anthony at once knelt to receive the archiepiscopal blessing, and with Sheldon's kind hand on his shoulder, revelled in a shower of compliments ; " he was glad there was such a person in the Universitie that had a generous mind to such a work . . . He bid him to proceed in his studies . . . he should be encourag'd and want nothing that was equal to his Deserts."

The company next passed from the gallery into the Great Hall, " where were divers Bishops and persons of Qualitie and others that thrust in, besides the Oxford scholars that dined there." Even the dining arrangements on that memorable evening are carefully detailed, not to mention the feelings of the honoured guest on being invited, beyond his most flattering expectations, ' to go up higher.' " There was a high Table went across the upper end of the Hall, and Tables on each side, as in College Halls. Sir Leolin Jenkins being then there, he laid his hands on Anthony à Wood, and made him sit at the high Table (whereas he should have sit at one of the side tables with his contemporaries), between him and Joh. Cook, an Under Secretarie to the Lord Arlington, one of the Chief Secretaries of State. He was then exceedingly carress'd by all learned and good men."[1]

Looking round upon that jovial company, cracking learned jests and exulting in good fellowship, Sheldon must almost have imagined himself back in the Common Room at All Souls, and the years of enmity as though they had never been.[2]

[1] *Life of Mr. Anthony à Wood*, vol. ii, p. 221.

[2] For the account of a later visit of Wood to Sheldon, cf. *Life and Times*, Clark, 1891, vol. ii, p. 242. On this occasion John Echard, author of *The Contempt of the Clergy*, sat between the Archbishop's chaplains at dinner. Sheldon provided two of the great tables still in the Library : one of them was a shovel-board table. Ducarel, p. 33.

(iv) THE TRAGEDY OF ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT

1672.—Towards the close of Sheldon's primacy came Charles the Second's unscrupulous attempt to cloak his intrigues with France by the issue, in virtue of his dispensing powers, of a Declaration of Indulgence which, from that day forward, suspended " all manner of penal laws of matters ecclesiastical against whatever sort of Nonconformists or Recusants." The immediate effect was the return of banished ministers, the re-opening of chapels, the emptying of gaols : Bunyan left his prison : hundreds of persecuted Quakers were liberated. Yet the Declaration aroused no enthusiasm ; it was universally regarded as a serious blow at national independence. When the Commons met the following year, their angry distrust of the King's motives found expression in the recall of the Declaration, and the substitution of a Test Act, in terms which Protestant Dissidents were prepared to accept, while it completely excluded the Catholics from power. This drastic action was fully justified when the heir-apparent, James, Duke of York, promptly declared himself a Roman Catholic, refused the oaths of allegiance, and resigned his office of Lord High Admiral.

Popular fears were not, however, easily allayed. There were assurances on the part of the Ministers of State that " all the places of profit, command and trust should only be given to the old Cavaliers " ; rumours went about that a commission of ministers and bishops at Lambeth was formulating a fresh declaration before the parliamentary session of 1675.[1] But when Sheldon died, the air was still charged with suspicion, and all confidence in the King was at an end.

William Sancroft, 1678-91.—William Sancroft, like his predecessor, an admirable and industrious scholar, the Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, a theologian and

[1] Cf. *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux* (Cam. Soc. 1875), p. 33 and note.

antiquarian, had won golden opinions in the office of Dean of St. Paul's. He had thrown himself whole-heartedly into the restoration of his cathedral after the great fire ; he had contributed liberally and collected large sums of money, had entered minutely into the architectural details and refused a bishopric that he might see the work completed. To him Sheldon had entrusted the publication and translation of Laud's recovered Diary.[1] In every respect, he was marked out for the primacy ; but the good Dean proved unequal to the larger responsibility, at any rate at a time of extreme difficulty. The cruel dilemma into which ultimately he was forced, unnerved him completely.

Sunday, January 27, 1678.—Sancroft was consecrated in Lambeth Chapel in the presence of the great Law Officers of the Crown, of John Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, who was to be the next primate, and of the new Dean of St. Paul's, Edward Stillingfleet. Dr. William Thomas was consecrated Bishop of St. David's at the same service.[2]

July 19, 1684.—The new Archbishop's ability to take a decided line in matters of church discipline was shown by his arraignment of Bishop Wood of Lichfield for gross neglect of duty. The instrument of suspension was read in Lambeth Palace Chapel and remained in operation for two years.[3] In the early years of his primacy, Sancroft abstained altogether from politics although, the state of public opinion being as it was, he at one time addressed himself to a heroic attempt to rescue the Duke of York from the clutches of Rome. In company with the Bishop of Winchester, he was introduced into the royal closet at St. James's ; there were exhortations, expostulations, but all in vain.[3] At last the moment so long dreaded by the country arrived—Charles II died and in 1685 the Duke succeeded his brother, and was duly crowned

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art. Sancroft.

[2] Le Neve, *loc. cit.*, p. 200. The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* places Sancroft's consecration in Westminster Abbey.

[3] Dr. Digby, *Life of William Sancroft* (1821), vol. i, p. 160.

King of England by the Archbishop of Canterbury. This event, as it were the visible symbol of the allegiance Sancroft had solemnly sworn to the new sovereign, created in his mind a sacred obligation of personal loyalty from which nothing could give him release. It persisted to his dying day despite his detestation of the tenets of Rome, and the fact that at this very coronation ceremony the rite of Communion according to the Church of England was deliberately passed over. A position so anomalous could not be occupied by a man of sincerity with any degree of comfort : henceforward Sancroft's days at Lambeth were days of increasing wretchedness. Could he still have held himself aloof from the mesh of politics there was work enough at hand. He was, for example, concerned about the Church's ministry, the choice of ordinands and their ordination in conformity with the canons, and called the bishops to Lambeth to draw up articles for the correction of prevalent uncanonical practices.[1]

But circumstances tended continually to focus the whole force of a narrow logic upon his relations with the King ; the path, as he sadly acknowledged, was strewn with dust and ashes.

In 1686 King James established a Commission, required to take upon them, in the words of John Evelyn, " the full power of all Ecclesiastical affairs, in as unlimited a manner, or rather greater, than the late High Commission Court, abrogated by Parliament, . . . in sum it was the whole power of a Vicar General," [2] a tyranny aimed at the humiliation of the Protestant clergy as insupportable as that from which the nation had so recently and at such cost broken free. The Archbishop of Canterbury was named a Commissioner, but only the Lord Chancellor (at this time the notorious Jeffreys) was " ever to be of the quorum."

Sancroft excused himself from taking office on the ground of age and infirmity. His critics complained that " he lay

[1] *Life*, p. 213.

[2] *Diary of John Evelyn* (ed. Bray), vol. i, p. 631 (July 14, 1686).

silent at Lambeth," that his zeal against popery evaporated in talk, that he was too timid to take a strong line, attend the court at its inception and refuse to serve upon a body illegally constituted. His policy of inaction led no less surely to a breach with James.[1]

No summons was issued to compel his appearance but the King proceeded to ignore his recommendations and to press into the vacant bishoprics of Chester and St. David's " the two worst men that could be selected." Sancroft had perforce to consecrate the royal nominees in Lambeth Chapel.[2]

Eighteen months later James, by an Order in Council, promulgated yet another Declaration for the Liberty of the Church, again assuming, as illegally as Charles the Second had done, dispensing powers for the Sovereign.[3] Sancroft at once marshalled his Staff of Bishops to consider their battle-array. The Diary of Henry, Earl of Clarendon, a very frequent visitor at Lambeth, describes a dinner-party at which he was present with the Bishops of London, Ely and Peterborough, Chester and St. David's. The two last-named, the King's creatures, " discomposed the company, nobody caring to speak before them." [4] Fortunately they left directly the meal was over, and the little group which remained debated the burning question whether the Order in Council to read the offending Declaration in the churches should or should not be obeyed.

The clergy were, in fact, in a cleft stick. By reading the proclamation, they laid themselves open to universal contempt ; if they disobeyed the Order, they became liable for penalties in the Courts with which the new Commission was provided.

After much anxious conference the bishops determined to give the lead to disobey, on the highest grounds of honour

[1] Burnet, *Hist. of his Own Time*, vol. ii, p. 676.

[2] *Life*, p. 239 (October 17, 1686). [3] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

[4] Diary of Henry, Earl of Clarendon (Singer, 1828), vol. ii, p. 171 (May 12, 1688).

and duty, and almost all the clergy followed them.[1] The terms of a petition were agreed upon, basing the general refusal to comply upon the illegality of the dispensing powers which the King had exercised. Seven bishops signed the document: they were Sancroft himself, St. Asaph, Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells (Dr. Ken), Peterborough and Bristol.

Six of the signatories proceeded to Whitehall to hand their petition to the King; he regarded it as a standard of rebellion and held to his determination to have the Declaration read in the churches. Sancroft was not a member of this deputation. At the time of his refusal to sit in the High Commission Court, the King had thought fit to forbid his coming over the water at all. For more than two years past he had been, perhaps not unwillingly, to all intents a prisoner in his house. The royal prohibition had indeed recently been modified, but, in March 1689, the Archbishop replied, drearily enough, to a peremptory summons from the Lord Speaker Halifax to attend the House of Lords; "he scarce ever stirred out of doors but when he was forced out. And since this restraint was at an end (that is for the last three months) he has never gone out of his house, not so much as into his garden." He could not plead in excuse a disabling sickness, but could yet affirm that "his great age and many infirmities, his long confinement at home and the more than usual inconveniences which the late winter brought upon him, have not left him in a condition to pass the river without great danger and detriment to his health."[2]

June 8, 1689.—This answer was regarded as highly unsatisfactory; the arrival by messenger of a summons to appear before His Majesty in Council presently compelled Sancroft, in the comparative mildness of a June afternoon, to "pass the river" once again.

Three other offending bishops were summoned at the same

[1] Cf. Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 94.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. XII, app. vi (House of Lords 1689-90), p. 39.

time ; they all refused to enter into recognizances, and left the King's presence only to proceed by barge to the Tower, amid wild manifestations of popular sympathy along the riverside. The trial, as is well known, took place a fortnight later and resulted in an acquittal for the seven bishops, who were hailed with enthusiasm as champions of national liberty, and compared to the seven golden candlesticks and the seven stars of the Protestant churches.[1]

By degrees the King realised the necessity of conciliating the bishops if he was to regain public confidence. But he was too late. The sands of the Stuart era were fast running out ; the star of William, Prince of Orange, had already risen above the horizon. Early in November, 1689, he had actually landed and James II was once more tempting Providence by refusing concessions until his rival had quitted English soil.

Evelyn's Diary for 15th January gives a vivid picture of the confused state of feeling among the Lords and Commons responsible for the guidance of the nation : " Some," he tells us, " would have the Princesse made Queene without any more dispute, others were for a Regency : there was a Tory party (as then so call'd) who were for inviting His Majesty, againe, upon conditions ; and there were Republicarians who would make the Prince of Orange like a Stadtholder. The Romanists were busy among these several parties, to bring them into confusion ; most for ambition or other interest, few for conscience or moderate resolutions." But of all this perturbation Evelyn found nothing when he called that same day at Lambeth, and after prayers and dinner, listened to the discourses of the seven bishops, the noblemen who were of their party, notably the Earl of Clarendon—the Lord Advocate of Scotland and a Scottish Archbishop ; their course was perfectly clear ; " they were all for a Regency, thereby to salve their oaths [of allegiance], and so all public matters to proceede in his Majesty's name, by that to facilitate the calling of a Parliament, according to the Laws in being." [2]

[1] *Life*, p. 313. [2] *Diary*, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 1 (January 15, 1689).

Evelyn himself thought that a bridge might have been built, and at least the oath of allegiance to William and Mary have been restricted to those now taking office for the first time, so to respect the scruples of men like the seven bishops, who had already, once for all, sworn fidelity to the Government as established by law. As it was, Archbishop Sancroft attended the last Court of a Stuart King at Whitehall ; when the Prince of Orange reached London, he declined to pay his respects and absented himself from the House of Lords. He spent his time, it may well be in Laud's study, in great distress of mind, writing copious papers, setting out the arguments on both sides. Finally he determined, on grounds of conscience, to refuse the oath of allegiance to a new sovereign during the lifetime of James II.

The new rulers at once showed their readiness to regard Sancroft in a favourable light. On the day of their proclamation, the Queen, always charitable and devout, sent two of her chaplains to Lambeth to ask for the archiepiscopal blessing. They were, not unnaturally, instructed also to attend service in the chapel and to note whether the Archbishop prayed for the king and queen. Wharton, the church historian, the only chaplain in attendance on His Grace, " feeling the delicacy of the situation " very rightly sought the Archbishop's instructions. Sancroft said he had none to give ; Wharton took this answer to imply that he might use his own discretion and with sound good sense prayed publicly in the chapel for William and Mary. Sancroft, not at once, but after some hours' delay, sent for him, and with great heat gave him the choice either of refraining from public prayer for the usurpers, or of being suspended from his duties in the chapel ; " as long," he added, " as King James is alive no other persons can be sovereigns of England." In view of his attitude, it was inevitable that the Bishop of London should crown the King and Queen.

Sancroft was suspended on 1st August, 1689, and deprived on the ensuing first of February. For a year and a half he still remained at Lambeth, maintaining at first his old state

and receiving visits from his many sympathisers. He was suspected, quite without reason, of a share in disloyal plots ; there was a brisk interchange of pamphlets, and he indignantly disclaimed a charge of having composed a new liturgy, calling down the divine blessing upon the banished King, and of being a promoter of " the Lambeth Holy Club, the Holy Jacobite Club, and the Æconomick Council of the Jacobite Party." [1]

At last John Tillotson was nominated as Sancroft's successor. Without delay, the Archbishop-elect, upon a generous impulse, hastened to Lambeth, several times sent in his name, waited for long in vain, and finally returned home discomfited, " an incivility," writes his biographer, " which he had not at all deserved of his predecessor, whose reputation, integrity and wisdom, when aspers'd by others, he had often vindicated to the King." [2]

Sancroft was, however, ' facing-up ' to the inevitable move: one May day, when Evelyn called to see him, he found " the house altogether disfurnisht and his books packing up." [3] Next there arrived an order from the Queen to quit within ten days. Sancroft, the impracticable, was greatly offended, and inconsequently changed his intention of leaving his books to the Lambeth Library.[4]

Public curiosity was now agog to see whether the Archbishop would leave without compulsion. " Les Jacobites,' wrote the author of a newsletter addressed to a merchant in the Rue du Pape at the Hague, " pour ce qui est de l'ancien archevêque de Canterbery, disent qu'il ne sortira pas du Palais de Lambeth que par force. Cependant le nouvel archevêque a déjà engagé à son service la pluspart des officiers de la maison de l'autre, qui l'attendent à Lambeth." [5]

May 31, 1691.—On Whitsunday, Dr. Tillotson was consecrated in the church of St. Mary-le-Bow. Meanwhile in Lambeth Chapel a sad old man administered the Sacra-

[1] *Life*, p. 462.
[2] Birch, *Life of Tillotson*, p. 240.
[3] *Diary*, *loc. cit*, vol. ii, p. 25.
[4] D'Oyly, *Life of Sancroft*, p. 464.
[5] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. VII, p. 149b.

ment to men like-minded with himself, Bishop Ken of Bath and Wells, and Bishop White of Peterborough.[1] "The crowd was so great," notes Anthony à Wood in his Diary, "they shut up the gates. I heare that 60 communicated." Sancroft's two chaplains, in spite of his remonstrances and the fact that they disagreed with his views, preferred to remain loyally attached to his service so long as he lived.

With relentless logic, Sancroft determined to be ejected from his house only by legal process. The law accordingly took its cumbrous course. The Archbishop was cited to appear before the Barons of the Exchequer, on a charge of having "entered, vi et armis, into Lambeth House, part of the king's possession sede vacante," on a certain date "and forcibly taken and held possession of it." "He appeared," says his biographer, "by his attorney, several times, but always cautiously avoided putting in any plea in which the name of the King or Queen was mentioned, or their title acknowledged."

On Tuesday, 23rd June, judgment was given against Sancroft; the same evening between seven and eight, he slipped out of the Palace, unknown even to his chaplains, in company with his nephew and two or three members of his household, passed down the river to the Temple, "going in his barge, with his bed" and found a refuge in a private house in Palsgrave Court. Next day the Lambeth servants were dismissed, a quarter's wages paid them in advance: alms were distributed to the poor of the parish, a present was sent to the curate. A fine of £200 which Tillotson had no desire to enforce was insistently paid.

Thus the play, so long drawn out, was played at last, decently, to its melancholy close.

[1] Wood, *Life and Times* (ed. Clark), vol. iii, p. 362.

CHAPTER XI

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(i) ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON

John Tillotson, 1691-95.—The long delay which followed the deprivation of Archbishop Sancroft was owing, in some measure, to the great unwillingness of his successor to accept high preferment, an unwillingness due to no lack of courage, but to the shrinking of a contemplative mind from the turmoil of affairs. The position of the two men who succeeded one another in the primacy at this critical time offers a striking contrast. Sancroft had sacrificed everything to an allegiance which could inspire little personal devotion. Between John Tillotson and the new sovereigns there had existed, from their Majesties' first coming to England, strong feelings of admiration and respect. The Dean preaching in Queen Mary's presence at Whitehall "how to keep a truly religious fast," observes her serious and steady attention, "without wandering, without diversion, without drowsiness."[1] The King is determined upon the Dean's advancement; he will take no refusal upon any plea: he interviews Tillotson repeatedly, and continually presses the archbishopric upon the man of his choice. Tillotson wavers, but as yet cannot bring himself to submit to the yoke of office. "Though contemplation and a few friends would be your grateful choice," wrote Lady Russell to him after the crucial meeting at Kensington Palace, "yet if charity, obedience and necessity call you into the world . . . must you not accept it? It will be a noble sacrifice you will make; and I am confident you

[1] Birch, *Life of Dr. John Tillotson*, p. 221.

will find, as a reward, kind and tender supports if you do take the burden upon you . . . I do as sincerely wish your thoughts at ease as any friend you have. But I think you may purchase that too dear ; and if you should come to think so too, they would then be as restless as before. Sir, I believe you would be as much a common good as you can . . . Be not stiff if it be still urg'd to you. Conform to the divine will, which has set it so strongly into the other's mind, and be content to endure . . . " [1]

It was the plea of a woman with whose fortitude of soul Tillotson was well acquainted, and it had the desired effect. He went again next morning to the King, " full of fear, but yet determined what was fit for me to do."

Tillotson was the first Archbishop of Canterbury since Parker, and only the third of his long line, to be a married man. It was characteristic of his thoughtfulness in every relationship of life that his earliest anxiety should be to secure adequate provision for his wife should she survive him. He was a poor man, and he realised that promotion would make him relatively poorer. With a grave courtesy he asked the King's consideration for Mrs. Tillotson. " The widow of an Archbishop of Canterbury (which would now be an odd figure in England)," he wrote to Lady Russell, " could not decently be supported by so little as would have contented her very well had I died a Dean. To which he gave a very gracious answer,—I promise you to take care of her." [2] Mrs. Tillotson, before her marriage, Elizabeth French, was the daughter of Robina Cromwell, sister to the Lord Protector, by her first husband. By a strange irony of fate she came from the heart of the Puritan camp to reign among the memories of Laud and Juxon and Sancroft in the old chambers. After the ruin of the civil wars, Juxon had done much reparation at Lambeth House ; Archbishop Sancroft is reputed to have built a new kitchen, the old one being relegated to use as a passage room.[3] Archbishop Tillotson lived on at the Deanery of St. Paul's for some six months after his consecra-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 225. [2] Birch, p. 228. [3] Nichols, *Lit. Anecd*, vol. ix, p. 322.

tion, and in the meantime completed a dwelling-house, which Sancroft had begun building, over the old kitchen garden on the south side, for his wife's use, modernised the mediaeval appearance of his own lodgings by altering the windows, wainscotted many of the rooms and made other improvements. The new house was tucked away in a sheltered corner between the entrance-gate and church and the Great Hall. One room, jutting out over the entrance door, was said to have been Tillotson's study ; it was provided with glazed peep-holes, into the hall and court-yard, so that he could observe all who came in and out of the palace.[1] This room was still in use as the Archbishop's study or private library when Ducarel wrote his history.[2]

Sancroft had taken no pleasure in the garden, into which he scarcely ever entered. There was " little in it but walkes," but Tillotson ordered, no doubt for his wife's enjoyment, the erection of a greenhouse, " one of the finest and costliest about the town." It contained three rooms, with a stove under the midmost ; " the foresides of the rooms," as a contemporary description explains, " are almost all glass, the roof covered with lead, the whole part (to adorn the building) rising gavel-wise higher than the rest." Unfortunately it was placed so near Lambeth Church that little sun could reach it, except after eleven o'clock in the winter. The ' contriver,' not yet perhaps very expert in the erection of greenhouses, recognised his mistake. The house, however, made a brave show, with a forest of orange and lemon trees, covered with very large ripe fruit.[3]

After a year in the see, Tillotson still felt the grandeur of his position an insufferable burden, and wrote pensively in his Commonplace Book his epitome of life at Lambeth, certain " Remarks concerning a public and splendid way of living compared with a private and retir'd life." " One would be apt to wonder," the words run, " that Nehemiah

[1] Ducarel, pp. 19 and 32. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[3] *Archaeologia* (1796), vol. xii, p. 187. An account of several gardens near London (1691).

should reckon a huge bill of fare and a vast number of promiscuous guests amongst his good deeds for which he desires God to remember him. But upon better consideration, besides the bounty and sometimes charity of a great table, there may be exercised two . . . virtues ; one is temperance, and the other self-denial, in a man's being contented for the sake of the public to deny himself so much as to sit down everyday to a feast and to eat continually in a crowd and almost never to be alone . . . It is a very odd and fantantastical sort of life for a man to be continually from home and most of all a stranger at his own house . . . "[1]

On Whitsunday, 1692, in Lambeth Chapel, the Archbishop restored to communion with the church of his baptism, the Duke of Richmond, a natural son of Charles II who had abjured his faith and joined the Church of Rome.[2]

Tillotson continued to the last to enjoy close intimacy with King William, and still more with Queen Mary. The King said he was the best man he had ever known, the best friend he had ever had ; the Queen eagerly supported his schemes of reform for the English Church. He was respected on all hands ; great congregations hung upon his lips ; no man's society was more sincerely appreciated. Yet there was another side to the picture which helped to justify his dislike of high place. He was constantly and virulently libelled : many of his clergy were disloyal to him. On a bundle among his papers was found written the words " These are libels. I pray God forgive the authors ; I do."[3]

In the late summer of 1694 Tillotson summoned a meeting of bishops at Lambeth to agree upon regulations affecting such crying abuses of the time as clerical non-residence and neglect of parochial duties. These regulations, in view of " their Majesties' concernment for religion," it was thought fitting to enforce by royal injunction,[4] an all too-favourite

[1] Birch, p. 259.

[2] Ducarel, app. xii, p. 60. Similarly in January, 1709, Archbishop Tenison ' reconciled ' the Earl of Dumbarton, a convert from Romanism (Ducarel, app. xiii, p. 62).

[3] Birch, p. 313.

[4] Birch, p. 307.

method of the King's. Queen Mary gave, as ever, her cordial assent, but asked for some delay, till her consort should return from the war. Her only recorded visit to Lambeth—when the bell-ringers received 5s.—not long before Tillotson's death,[1] may have been in connection with these affairs. On 9th November, William was again in London. But within a few days Tillotson had a fatal paralytic stroke in the chapel at Whitehall, and within a few weeks the scourge of small-pox carried the Queen also to her grave.[2]

(ii) THE MITRED CLUB

Contemporary politics, especially in relation to religious tests and the allied enigma of a Stuart or Hanoverian succession to the English throne, continued to occupy the episcopate for several decades after the nonjuring schism had declared itself and the tragedy of Sancroft had been played out.

Thomas Tenison, 1695-1716.—Archbishop Tenison figures in a contemporary satire of Queen Anne's reign which forcibly illustrates the layman's view of the political activities of the Bench of Bishops. The lampoon, bearing date 1704, entitled with transparent mystery, " The M-d C-b ; or the L-th Consultation," and headed by the ominous text " *Et tu Brute, Acheronta movebo*," describes a Lambeth conference to decide the correct attitude of the Lords Spiritual towards the Occasional Conformity Bill.[3] This measure, intended " to prevent Dissenters evading the Test Act and thus securing to themselves civil rights," had already passed the Commons ; it remained to be seen whether the Lords would throw it out.

> " To curb the Commons and their Ends defeat,
> Right Reverend Twelve last night at L-th met.
> Tho' much of Lawn did round the Room appear
> Yet none but Moderate Men of God were there,
> Nor had been M-d more than Thirteen Year."

[1] Brayley and Herbert, *loc. cit.*, p. 89. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

[3] Cf. *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, vol. v, p. 464.

The discussion wavered to and fro ; some wished to pass, others to amend the Bill.

One stalwart bishop is particularly vehement,

" Should this unchristian bitter Bill succeed ;
'Twould be a Woe to Hypocrites indeed,
Away with it, 'tis one of Bonner's Bills,
I'm not for Saving Saints without their Wills."

At this point the company is startled by an apparition—

" . . . Streight a most melodious Sound was heard,
And lo, in white, a Rev'rend Form appear'd,
His Hand a Crosier, a Mitre grac'd his Head,
And whilst sweet Odours round the Room were spread,
Thus to them all the Sacred Shadow said . . .
' Shall that pure Church for which the Martyrs bled,
And for which too I Sacrific'd my Head,
Be by her B-ps into bondage led ?
Think, think, such Times may never come again
Seldom such Senates, never such a Queen.' "

The voice of Archbishop Laud from the Shades proves so stirring, even to Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, stoutest of the Whigs, that all are prepared to pass the Bill unamended. But there is more to follow :

" After an Earthquake and a Flash of Flame,
Into the Room a meagre Phantom came :
His Bending Bulk a Purple Robe hung o're,
And in his Hands the Regal Ensigns wore."

The ghost of William of Orange, his fulminations against the bishops he had created, who were now preparing to act contrary to his declared policy, coupled with the exhortation of Burnet,

" False to your Faith—No mighty Matter that ;
But false to Interest was a heinous Fault,"

bring the gathering in all haste to unanimity :

" Then rose th' Assembly, Una Voce cry'd
' Great is Diana ! Let's throw the Bill aside.' "

As a matter of history, the Earl of Nottingham, always the Church's champion, instigated the Commons to ' tack ' the

rejected Bill to the Land Tax Bill, and so force the Lords to accept it, an unsuccessful manœuvre which cost him his office.

Thomas Tenison, who became Primate in 1695, an active and far-seeing philanthropist, though, if his contemporaries are to be believed, but a ' dull ' man—had been consecrated Bishop of Lincoln four years earlier, in Lambeth Chapel. The trial of Dr. Watson, Bishop of St. David's, for " Simony, extortion and other scandalous things " was one of his first preoccupations, and it led to an appeal to the House of Lords, on the ground that the court of six bishops, under the Archbishop's presidency, " held in the Hall of Lambeth House," was not " any court whereof the law takes notice." [1] The court's jurisdiction was, however, upheld and its sentence became effective.

Tenison never enjoyed Queen Anne's confidence, and when the news of her death reached Lambeth House, his secret sympathies drew him through the gates post-haste, in spite of the gout and other infirmities of age, carrying his black box full of documents relating to the Hanoverian succession, to confer with the Lord Chancellor. In the accession of George I and the final rout of the Jacobites, the patriotic old man saw the one hope of security for his church and country. Having paid his official call, " like Old Simeon " says his biographer, " he return'd to his Palace at Lambeth, there to sing his Nunc Dimittis, for he never stir'd out of it to the Day of his Death." [2]

(iii) SOME VISITORS AT LAMBETH PALACE

From time to time, especially in contemporary diaries, one catches a glimpse of the old halls at Lambeth and of the illustrious visitors who, on one pretext or another, pass through them. Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, (whose barbaric suite wrought such havoc in Mr Evelyn's house, Sayers Court), although he shrank from the publicity of a

[1] Burns, *Eccles. Law* (1842), vol. i, p. 232.

[2] *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Dr. Thomas Tenison*, p. 112.

visit to St. Paul's, was induced to go to Lambeth Palace; there he watched the ordination of an Anglican priest, one Christopher Clarke, in the chapel, and marvelled at the size of the archiepiscopal library; "he had never imagined there were so many printed volumes in the world." [1]

December 15, 1705.—Bishop Nicolson notes in his diary a dinner with Archbishop Tenison and even a conversation anticipating modern research between "Mr. Worsley of ye House of Commons" and the scholarly Dr. Covel of Christ's, Cambridge, which he overheard. "Mr. W. and Dr. C.," he writes, "agreed y^t^ Moses coasted ye Red Sea; haveing gone into't and out again, on ye Asian side: And the former saies he was three dayes in goeing up to Mount Sinai (in Arabia Petrea) where he lodg'd and had thence ye most delightful prospect in ye world." [2]

On another occasion the Bishop met at Lambeth the Archbishop of Dublin ("thought by everybody to be strangely paradoxical and a little craz'd"), Sir Isaac Newton, the famous Dr. Bentley, and Mandeville, author of the *Fable of the Bees*.[3]

Sir Isaac was a friend also of Tenison's successor, and a letter of Archbishop Wake's regrets his inability, owing to growing infirmity, to attend the great man's funeral.[4]

Lambeth sometimes attracted the tourist, travelling leisurely on horseback. The young Lord Harley, on his way to Canterbury, turned his horse's head out of Dover Street towards Hyde Park Corner, and then along 'Buckingham Wall' towards the horse-ferry. While his servants, with the horses, crossed by the ferry, he and his secretary got over the river in a pair-oared boat and paid a flying visit to the Archbishop's Palace. A guide led them first into the great hall, where Lord Harley studied Juxon's coat of arms stuck about in two or three places, and the party regretted that so little hospitable use

[1] Macaulay, *Hist. of England* (1861), vol. v. p. 78, cf. Denne quoting Bentham, *History of Ely*.

[2] Nicolson's Diary, *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. Soc.* vol. iii, p. 36.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 31 (Nov. 10, 1705). [4] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. VIII, p. 62a.

should be made of such a noble room ; they then went up into the gallery which, says the narrator, " is the Archbishop's private library, and a very proper room for such use ; it seemed very well furnished, and great exactness was used in placing the books to the best advantage, according to their several dimensions." The portraits of archbishops and bishops excited much comment, particularly Holbein's picture of Archbishop Warham ; this the cicerone, for the honour of the archbishops' palace, stoutly declared to be " 800 years old." [1]

(iv) HOUSE AND HOME

It has often been said that Sancroft was the last archbishop of the old régime, as Tillotson began the new era. Certainly as regards the story of Lambeth, after Sancroft's departure, the important factors of national and ecclesiastical history seem to fade almost entirely out of the picture for a century and a half, giving place mainly to the personal and domestic. There is one great exception to this narrowing of interests, one to be appreciated by those who live in a century like our own. Lambeth Palace under the Georgian Primates witnessed certain episodes which preluded the great missionary developments yet to come ; episodes which will fall into their proper sequence in a later chapter.

Here and now we may well gather up the few scattered memories which remain of home-life at Lambeth during the eighteenth century.

Most of the Georgian Primates were married men, and their domestic surroundings to some extent reflected the conditions of contemporary life in noble houses of the better sort.

Archbishop Tenison's lifelong interest in philanthropy was fully shared by his well-loved wife. Mrs. Tenison's memory is still kept green in the Lambeth parochial girls' school, bearing her husband's name, the successor of the charity school which he founded, and she tended with a

[1] *MSS. of the Duke of Portland*, vol. iv, p. 74.

constant vigilance. There, too, her picture is treasured, a portrait with dark hair and serene eyes, painted by her contemporary, Mary Beale, and bequeathed to the school by the Archbishop from the walls of his bedchamber where it had once hung. On his funeral day the hearse went, by his direction, " two turns about the Palace Yard," the mistress and twelve girls from his " Charity House in Lambeth " following the chief mourners.[1]

William Wake, 1716-1737.—Archbishop Wake's description of his daily pursuits at Lambeth belongs to the half-forgotten story of his attempt to promote amity between the churches of England and France. To his friend, the Benedictine Père Courayer, Principal Librarian of the Cathedral Church of St. Geneviève at Paris,[2] he sent an account of the state of the English Church and incidentally of the almost monastic life led by himself and his numerous household. " We have the service of God within ourselves," he says, " and that in public in my chapel and house, four times a day. We live orderly and peaceably together ; and though the necessity of business draws a great number of persons to me, yet I reduce even that as much as possible to certain times ; and then eat openly with my friends two days in the week. To the Court I seldom go . . . I use my best endeavours to live clear of the world and die by degrees to it." [3]

Thomas Herring, 1747-57.—Archbishop Herring had a special affection for his house at Croydon. At Lambeth he seems to have done a good deal towards dismantling the old fittings of the Palace. The worn tapestries, for example, which hung in the presence chamber, he replaced with wainscot,[4] and he took away the purple and red velvet hangings, perhaps of Mrs. Tenison's choosing, which adorned ' Le Velvet Room '—that is, the old drawing-

[1] School Regulations (unpublished).

[2] Rowden, *Primates of the Four Georges*, p. 84.

[3] *Memoirs of Lady Sundon*, by Mrs. Thomson, vol. i, p. 85 (quoted in Rowden, etc.).

[4] Ducarel, p. 41.

room[1] giving entrance to the long gallery. He pulled down the wall of the so-called burying-ground—lying on the north side of the chapel and entered from the post room (Chichele's Solar) by a great door.[2] There the old musquets and bandoleers, which the decaying pegs of the arms-frames in the guard-room would no longer support, lay rotting and were cleared away ; the ground was dug over, but no trace of any interment was found. The ' little cloister ' with its arcading of twelve pillars along the whole length of the north chapel-wall was also destroyed at this time.[3] Owing, it is said, to the negligence of a gardener, a very old inhabitant disappeared, in 1753, from its familiar haunts. This was Laud's tortoise, placed in the garden by the Archbishop no less than one hundred and twenty years before. The shell was deposited in the old library over the cloister and still remains among the treasures of the library in Juxon's Hall.[4]

Thomas Secker, 1758-68.—Undoubtedly the most attractive group of these times gathered round the hearth of Archbishop Secker. While still a country clergyman, Secker had married Catherine Benson, sister of his friend Martin Benson, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester. With a courage that brought its due reward, Secker took into the family circle his bride's widowed friend and companion, Mrs. Edward Talbot, and her delicate posthumous baby, another Catherine. This composite household lived together in the greatest amity for twenty years, and when Mrs. Secker died, the Talbots, mother and daughter, remained, both at Cuddesdon and at Lambeth, to cheer their benefactor's declining years. When she went to Lambeth, at the age of thirty-five, Catherine Talbot was an interesting, thoughtful woman ; she had artistic gifts, a genius for friendship, a charming knack in

[1] Ducarel, p. 42. There was a fashion for velvets in Queen Anne's reign which ruined the makers of Canterbury silks. Cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Rep. VIII, app., p. 100, for the Duchess of Marlborough's velvet hangings (1708).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[4] *Lambeth Palace Illus.* (1806), E. W. Brayley and W. Herbert, p. 26.

letter-writing. Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, with a far less sprightly turn, was her devoted correspondent, and a frequent visitor. Their busy pens have saved from oblivion many a vignette of the life at Lambeth during the decade of Secker's primacy.

Mrs. Talbot had a separate establishment in a house within the Palace grounds, christened Jessamine Hall by her lively daughter, probably the house Sancroft and Tillotson had built close to Lambeth Church and looking into the main courtyard ; [1] Catherine had rooms within the Palace and acted as hostess and sometimes as secretary to the Archbishop. The separation was only a nominal one ; mother and daughter were for ever " crossing the great hall "[2] that divided their apartments, or sitting together in " a sweet flowery spot in the garden which is our reading place."[3] On their first arrival from Cuddesdon, they were dismayed at the inconvenience of the great rambling house, the dingy rooms, the garden-ponds green with weed, the lack of flowers and fruit.[4] But matters were quickly mended ; the garden was re-planted, the field was " improved by two cows and a calf " : [5] when they crossed over Westminster Bridge, the two women soon looked towards the trees and towers of Lambeth rejoicing to think it was their home.[6] The Archbishop's family numbered forty persons, who led, in Miss Talbot's opinion, " if it were not for the neighbourhood of that vile London, a very quiet collegiate life." [7] Next to the chapel, where they regularly attended the daily offices, the long gallery, Pole's gallery, was the home centre ; there the Talbots played piquet after supper,[8] till, between eight and nine, they were summoned to His Grace's study ; [9] or Catherine read French novels, Euripides in Italian,[10] the romance of Parthenissa (Miss Carter's gift—" a precious

[1] A series of letters between Mrs. Elizabeth Carter and Miss Catherine Talbot (1808), vol. i, p. 517, cf. *supra*, p. 192.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 436. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 497. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 432.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 436. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 482. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 437.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 442. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 452. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 455.

treasure of false thoughts, and refinements and hyperboles")[1] or her friend's famous translation of Epictetus : there they breakfasted on chilly winter mornings, or in summer-time made tea for their guests,[2] and there in the December dusk, Catherine's slender figure could be seen pacing up and down for exercise by the light of a solitary candle.[3] From the gallery windows they watched " the blaze of bonfires and the starry rain of rockets " on the King's birthday,[4] or fire-work displays at the Duke of Richmond's.[5] In the summer the garden gave them an exquisite pleasure, for the *semina florata* which Archbishop Reynolds had preferred were now sown there with a lavish hand. " My mother complains that going to Fulham," (where the Bishop of London had removed a brick boundary wall and let in the country), " has made this place quite a town," so Catherine tells her friend. " It is a town of blooms and perfumes, however. The fore-court, inhabited by full 200 very amusing chickens, is quite fragrant with lime-blossoms. The eastern apartment of my mother's house—where I now reside, and from whence I am writing this, is sweeter than you can conceive from jessamines that cluster round the windows : the rose-walk is to-day in its highest bloom. At every spot one moves to in the garden is some variety of sweets ; here a gale of spicy pinks ; there the breath of lillies." [6]

This Lambeth garden of sweet spices was still on the edge of pleasant country and Miss Talbot rode out daily into the green lanes.[7] " There is something so charmingly alive at this time in the environs of London—no, a chaise and one (which you know is five times as irresistible to me as a coach and six) could not drag me two miles further off than I am . . . Here we have the joy of town and country united." [8] So she chatters on contentedly, the white kitten perched beside her " on a huge folio of popish saints." [9] Her friends come and

[1] A series of letters between Mrs. Elizabeth Carter and Miss Catherine Talbot (1808), vol. i, p. 457. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 447. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 562.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 489. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 535. [6] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 21.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 460. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 495. [9] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 39.

go in the picture ; Mrs. Montagu is a frequent visitor.[1] The household servants marry and stay on in the house, where their children are born and christened.[2] There are homely festivities, a dance below stairs,[3] family syllabub in the garden.[4] There are musical parties when Mrs. Talbot borrows a harpischord, or a guest sings, in all the wonder of its comparative novelty, " I know that my Redeemer liveth,"[5] or they listen enraptured to " a little jolly boy of our butcher's that looks exactly like a small chump of beef and sings like an angel." [6]

From time to time the general serenity is ruffled. A violent storm terrifies Mrs. Talbot so that she cannot venture home across the Great Hall, but sits till one in the morning, reading, for consolation, Young's *Night Thoughts* in her daughter's company.[7] A scaffold, set up for the repair of Morton's Gateway, falls down, and one of the workmen loses his life.[8] The Archbishop, to the distress of his kind friends, is for ever falling ill of the gout. Almost always he recovers in time to fulfil any important engagement, such as crowning King George III,[9] but on one occasion he cannot even walk as far as his own chapel, and so instead, he marries, in the Long Gallery, the amiable Lady Egremont to the agreeable Count de Brahl : " The only assistants, her two daughters, my mother and your most obedient. They stayed with us till nine, but thank God the Abp is rather the better than the worse for it ; nay we tell him he must contrive to marry some pretty couple once a week." [10] This unique event took place in July 1767. There is one more cloudless summer in the garden, when the " whole border of the serpentine canal is filled with single pinks, red and white, which perfume the air and look sweet and soft beyond imagination." [11] Then calamity falls. The good Archbishop died in August, 1768,

[1] Cf., vol. i, pp. 471, 501, etc.
[2] *Ibid.*, *p.* 536, etc.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 489.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 45.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 471.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 522.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 520.
[8] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 548.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 502.
[10] Vol. ii, p. 45.
[11] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 52.

after enduring great suffering from a broken thigh. A story told of his last hours illustrates his simple devout nature. A clergyman whom he had long known visited him when the end drew near. "You will pray with me," said Secker. His friend rose and went to look for a Prayer-book. "That is not what I want now," said the dying man, "kneel down by me and pray in the way I know you are used to do." [1]

Catherine Talbot wrote directly to Miss Carter to tell her the sad news, and she and her mother prepared to seek a new home. They left Lambeth early in October, "all the good folks of the house clustered about the door, it was grievous to see them." [2] Once more the letters contain a reference, half-sad, half-humorous, to the happy days gone by, "miserable Lambeth; all there at wrongs, the poor cats all but starved, the polls are better off." [3] Catherine Talbot, always a very frail woman, survived her kind friend little more than a year.

During his primacy Archbishop Secker resided at Lambeth almost without a break. His life there was quiet, cloistered, serene, his home that of a Christian gentleman. His successor, Frederick Cornwallis, the seventh son of Charles, fourth Lord Cornwallis, brought into the place a very different atmosphere. He was "of the character of a great nobleman about the court." His wife, too, was a great lady, a member of the Townshend family. Where Mrs. Talbot and Catherine had watched contentedly from the gallery windows the glitter of London society, the new Archbishop and his lady were, by right of birth, in and of its highest circles. It was now many years since, in the reign of George I, an effort had been made by Archbishop Wake to check the fashion for masked balls, or masquerades, which enjoyed royal favour but tended, as vigilant critics believed, to a growing slackness of morals among the less strait-laced of the nation. Wake called a Bishops' meeting, probably at Lambeth, and has left a note on the proceedings :—"almost all the Bps appeared and

[1] *Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. i, p. 19, note.
[2] Carter, Letters, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 58. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

agreed to desire myselfe with the Bps of London and Winchester, to desire my Lord Townshend in our names to request his Majtie to forbid the Masquerades intended to be held the beginning of ye year. Lord Townshend desired our memorial in writing."

The memorial, which excused the King's attitude on the ground of his ignorance of what suited the temper or genius of the English nation, explained the Bishops' occasion of complaint. It is not that all masquerades are evil, but that they arouse curiosity; people who attend what they believe to be an innocent diversion, "have very much lost ground in vertue there." "'Tis neither humour nor preciseness nor a desire to find fault with what is done or allow'd by the Court, nor any other the like motive that influences us in this affair. . . . By suppressing these assemblies, His Majtie will do wht is not only pleasing to God but most agreeable to the best and most serious part of his people."[1]

1755.—The memorial did not produce the desired reformation. Society danced gaily on, checked only for a moment by panic when the Lisbon earthquake brought them face to face with destruction and judgment. The terror past, masques began again, and once more, in 1766, they were the subject of a remonstrance addressed to Archbishop Secker.

It was represented that "To support these modish entertainments great numbers . . . squander away their time, health and substance"; and a tax was suggested of four shillings in the pound upon the tickets issued by proprietors of houses of entertainment; this would produce over £20,000 a year for the Foundling Hospital, which opened its doors to the child-victims of human folly.[2]

It is not known what answer Secker made. The fashion for masquerades had a longer lease than most fashionable amusements enjoy; soon after Archbishop Cornwallis's accession, it fell to him in turn to raise the voice of protest. "That knave," Walpole remarks sarcastically, "the Bishop

[1] Rowden, *Primates of the Four Georges*, pp. 107 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

of London, persuaded that good soul the Archbishop to remonstrate against masquerades; but happily the age prefers silly follies to serious ones, and dominoes comme de raison carry it against lawn sleeves."[1] The sting of this satire was not far to seek. Mrs. Cornwallis herself was heralded in the journals of the day as a leader of fashion, whose entertainments eclipsed all others in magnificence. And the balls and routs at Lambeth (for which the Archbishop built a new drawing-room and dressing-room, "very noble apartments")[2] were not lawfully confined to six days of the week, but had even been known to encroach upon the Sabbath rest.

Where former appeals had failed, the thistle was now grasped by a formidable hand, the hand of no less a personage than Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, who was connected by marriage both with the Cornwallis and Townshend families. She was not a stranger at Lambeth. A quarter of a century before, she had visited and received a blessing from Archbishop Potter in his infirm old age; he even, it was said, held a letter of hers in his hand at the moment he was seized with a fatal syncope and fell to the floor.[3] Attended by the Marquis of Townshend, the Countess, with uncommon courage, now obtained an interview with Cornwallis, and attempted a personal remonstrance, in the interests of propriety and decency. She only aroused His Grace's violent resentment against "Methodists and hypocrites" and drew an additional odium on his sacred office (which she greatly deplored). Undissuaded, she determined to carry her complaint to royal ears. There every sentiment was in her favour. George the Third admired her noble bearing and wished for a Lady Huntingdon in every diocese in the kingdom; Queen Charlotte regretted that she could not be made a bishop. An audience was at once granted her in the Palace at Kew, and a reception of the most gracious. There

[1] Walpole, *Letters*, ed. Toynbee, vol. vii, 384. Quoted Rowden, *loc. cit.*, p. 330.

[2] Ducarel, p. 20. [3] Huntingdon, *Life*, *loc. cit.*, vol. i, p. 447.

was an hour's brisk conversation, a kissing of hands, and her ladyship retired, well-pleased and hopeful of the King's intervention. In a few days a royal letter was delivered at Lambeth Palace, the most remarkable perhaps that any Archbishop ever drew from his post-bag under his Sovereign's hand.

" My good Lord Prelate," the missive ran, " I could not delay giving you the notification of the grief and concern with which my breast was affected, at receiving authentic information that routs have made their way into your palace. At the same time, I must signify to you my sentiments on this subject, which hold these levities and vain dissipations as utterly inexpedient, if not unlawful, to pass in a residence for many centuries devoted to divine studies, religious retirement, and the extensive exercise of charity and benevolence ; I add, in a place where so many of your predecessors have led their lives in such sanctity as has thrown lustre on the pure religion they professed and adorned.

From the dissatisfaction with which you must perceive I behold these improprieties, not to speak in harsher terms, and on still more pious principles, I trust you will suppress them immediately ; so that I may not have occasion to show any further marks of my displeasure, or to interpose in a different manner. May God take your Grace into his almighty protection ! I remain, my Lord Primate, your gracious friend, G. R." [1]

The rest, from the side of Lambeth, is silence. It must, however, be said in defence of Cornwallis that there were other aspects of his hospitality. Dr. Denne, a Lambeth historian, says that despite (perhaps indeed because of) his high birth, he abolished " that odious distinction of a separate table for the chaplains " that, while himself strictly moderate, he kept a princely board upon public days for all who came,

[1] Huntingdon, *Life, loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 283. Cf. Rowden, p. 332. " Dr. Wickham Legg seems to doubt the precise authenticity of the royal letter."

and received every guest with the true courtesy that springs of a good understanding and a benevolent heart.[1]

And if Mrs. Cornwallis loved to entertain the gay throng, she had also a strange and inexplicable fondness for the Lambeth Library, which she is said to have visited almost daily.[2]

Near the close of Archbishop Cornwallis's primacy, Lambeth Palace narrowly escaped destruction, during the so-called Gordon Riots, at the hands of the defenders of Protestant liberty. A body of some 500 men, with the noise of fife and drum, and flying colours, marched up from St. George's Fields, with shouts of 'No Popery.' They knocked vainly at the gates, threatened a return at night, and all day long paraded round about the palace. Application for military protection was at once made to the Secretary of State for War, and a party of a hundred Guardsmen speedily arrived. But, in spite of the soldiers, for several days the mob continued to demonstrate. The Archbishop, his 'lady and family,' were persuaded to leave their home until the disturbances should end. From 7th June until 11th August, 1790, 200-300 soldiers were quartered in the palace, the officers, in the best apartments, being entertained by the chaplains at His Grace's expense. Morning and evening, the men attended chapel, and their wives and children dined with them in the Great Hall. The provisions were " so good and plentiful, they quitted with great concern " their comfortable quarters. Their behaviour throughout seems to have been exemplary. The Earls of Sussex, Radnor, and Westmorland, and Viscounts Compton and Althorpe, were, as the historian hastens to record " the noblemen at Lambeth on this occasion." [3]

John Moore, 1783-1805.—Archbishop Moore made many improvements in the house and grounds, including a more convenient approach for carriages, and by cutting away some

[1] Rowden, p. 344. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 347.

[3] Brayley and Herbert, *loc. cit.*, p. 85.

of the surrounding trees, opened up from the windows views towards the river and the Westminster towers.[1]

(v) THE LAMBETH LIBRARY AND ITS HISTORY

For at least four centuries the library at Lambeth Palace has borne witness to the love of good learning possessed by a long line of scholar-primates. The tradition might not improbably be carried backward another century. Archbishop Chichele had a room called a library, " libraria sua," where he examined William Tailour the heretic.[2] And it may be remembered that he, the founder of the learned society of All Souls, was a contemporary of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, builder of the University Library at Oxford, to which a yet earlier library, that of Bishop Cobham, was removed.

Chichele certainly had books at hand when he sent to Henry V ' a scrowe,' enclosed in a letter from Lambeth, dealing, on the authority of ' lawes and cronicles ' which he had consulted, with the subject of papal emissaries in England ; the matter was pressing ; Beaufort's promotion to be Cardinal-Legate was imminent ; and the liberties of the English Church were threatened. The Archbishop feared that Henry's clerks might not have taken their books campaigning in France, and hastened to summarise historic precedents for the King's better information.[3]

The situation of the apartment called the library in the earlier years is a matter of conjecture. Some of the archbishops kept a number of volumes in their studies ; Archbishop Parker, who took precautions for the proper care of the books, ' printed or writ ' which he left to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and for their preservation in presses and chests, bequeathed to the college certain other books " peculiarly as yet reserved in his Study [in Museo] and Vestiary at Lambeth ".[4] Abbot kept books in his " great Study,

[1] Brayley and Herbert, *loc. cit.*, p. 19. [2] *Vide supra*, p. 57.

[3] Duck, *Vita Henrici Chichele* (1617), p. 79.

[4] Strype, *Life of Matthew Parker*, p. 501.

or Library " ;[1] Laud also, while he sent MSS. to Oxford from his ' upper study.'[2]

In Abbot's time there was certainly a room recognized as a public library where indeed King James borrowed volumes he did not return.[3] Archbishop Sheldon is said to have " built the Library " ;[4] this may have been a building offering additional accommodation for books, one which appears, looking west, in prints of his time, and was designed by his servant Stafford Tyndale, who was drowned in the Thames. Lord Harley, as we have already learned, visited " the Gallery which is the Archbishop's private Library " and admired the symmetrical placing of the books.[5] This apartment, above the eastern range of the cloisters, according to Blore's note, was " built of timber and plaster " and the manuscripts were kept " in a room attached, equally frail."[6] Buildings in timber and plaster may go back to the thirteenth century, and the frail condition, which the library's destroyer remarked upon, may as well have been due to age as to any other cause. Indeed the repair of the cloister described in a Court Roll of 1429 is executed by Ralf the carpenter, which suggests that it was even then of timber construction, with a tiled roof, and not of stone.[7] The old galleries were, in any case, very cold, and it was said by one reader that " in winter none but Captain Parry and his crew could possibly make use of the collection."[8]

If the words ' Lambeth Library ' are employed to mean a collection of books and manuscripts made by and for the use of scholars and theologians, it is possible to arrive at a far more complete account of its history. The earliest chapter, except for a possible fifteenth century preamble, would bear the title of Archbishop Cranmer's Library. Cranmer was himself profoundly learned both in divinity

[1] Hook, *Lives*, vol. 10, p. 306.
[2] Diary, *loc. cit.*, p. 59.
[3] Rye, *Libraries of London* (1927) p. 174.
[4] Ducarel, pp. 19 and 47.
[5] Cf. *supra.*, p. 198.
[6] MS. note in Lambeth Scrap-book.
[7] Court Roll No. 549.
[8] *Memoir of William Oldys, Norroy King-at-Arms* (1862), p. 69, footnote.

and canon law, an exact and indefatigable reader, and a voluminous writer, occupying his copyist, year in, year out, "most painfully."[1] He collected books, and not only used them himself but gave every facility to others to use them.

"His library," says Strype, "was the Storehouse of Ecclesiastical Writers of all Ages . . . which was open for the use of Learned Men. Here old Latimer spent many an hour, and found some Books so remarkable that he once thought fit to mention one in a Sermon before the King."[2] Here Roger Ascham could borrow rare copies of the Greek Fathers, books which the two Universities could not furnish, "not spoiled by some ill Latin translation." Here Bucer and his fellow-exiles laboured in composing their learned dissertations. John Evelyn once wrote of the library at Lambeth that it ebbed and flowed like the Thames moving by it, as one archbishop succeeded another.[3] In Cranmer's case the flood-tide of misfortune swept off a great part of his collection; many of his original papers and his books fell into hostile keeping and were dispersed. But their renown survived the days of persecution; Archbishop Parker, by much spying and searching, managed to discover the whereabouts of his predecessor's "grete notable wryten bokes" and armed with the authority of the Council of State claimed them back in the Queen's name. "I wold as moche rejoyce whyle I am in the countreye to wynne them" he wrote from Bekesbourne Manor to Cecil, "as I wold to restore an old Chancel to reparation . . ."[4]

There are still in the Lambeth library flotsam of those troubled days, tracts written at the beginning of the Reformation which probably belonged to Cranmer and some few larger volumes bearing his name.[5]

[1] Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii, p. 525. William Oldys the Antiquary (1696-71) says the oldest of the books in the library over the cloister were Dudley's, Earl of Leicester. *Memoir* (1862), p. 69.

[2] Strype, *Memorial of Archbishop Cranmer*, p. 439.

[3] Diary (Bray, 1819), p. 24. [4] Strype, Appendix to Memorials, No. xc.

[5] Todd, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 525.

Archbishop Parker's tastes were historical and his hobby was the collection of British and Saxon Antiquities "for the better knowledge of the History of the Ancient State of the Church and Nation." He urged the Welsh Bishops in their distant dioceses to gather up ancient writings;[1] he prepared to publish the chronicles of Matthew Paris, conparing 'Divers Manuscript pieces' to arrive at a correct text. Stow, the antiquary, procured him one copy, others he borrowed from Secretary Cecil, Sir Henry Sidney, and Henry, Earl of Arundel.[2]

"Such a lover of antiquities he was," relates his biographer, "that he designed certain Persons to go all over England with his authority to seek for Antient MSS. . . . And all the Antique Pieces that he got, for the better and surer Preservation of them, he bound up together in Volumes and covered with Vellum."[3] But the fruits of this enthusiasm for the most part benefited, under the Archbishop's will and during his lifetime, Corpus Christi and other colleges and the Public Library at Cambridge. His benefactions to Lambeth are sometimes to be distinguished by a homely token, the notes made conspicuously in red lead pencil by his own hand.[4]

Archbishop Bancroft's name stands next on the roll of scholars. Apart from his own collections, he persuaded Camden the antiquary to leave certain MSS. to the Lambeth Library. And to check the recurrent 'ebb and flow' he bequeathed all his numerous and valuable books and manuscripts to his successors, "provided they bound themselves by the necessary assurances for the continuance of such books to the Archbishops successively." If this condition were unfulfilled—and it was to have an unlooked-for significance—the books were to pass to His Majesty's College at Chelsea, if that were erected within six years, otherwise to the Public Library at Cambridge.[5] Archbishop Abbot

[1] Strype, *Parker*, bk. iii, ch. 7, p. 209.

[2] Strype, *loc. cit.*, bk. iii, ch. 23. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 508. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 522.

[5] Lambeth Palace and Library, S. W. Kershaw, Arch. Cant., ix, p. 176.

bequeathed his own collection to the common stock, although a number of Popish tracts which he had sequestrated had to be surrendered to their owners at the demand of the Spanish Ambassador.[1] The terms of his bequest are interesting and prophetic. " I have many books in the great study or library at Lambeth " they run, " marked with these two letters G. C. I bequeath those to that library, to the use of the Archbishops of Canterbury in succession, and I appoint that a catalogue should be made of them and sent to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church in Canterbury, to be there kept, and a transcript or copy thereof to remain in the library at Lambeth . . . and because I am not ignorant that by falsehood, cavils in law, or some negligence, not only those books given by me but those which were left by my Lord Bancroft, may be diverted from the use of my successors, and so this great and good work be frustrated, as far as in me lieth, I do, in the name of that dread and Almighty God who is the rewarder of all men's deservings, be they good or be they evil, lay it upon the soul and conscience of him and them that shall succeed me in this Archbishoprick, that to the best of their power, by all means, they keep that library and all the bookes safe as I have done "— The task of completing the catalogue, which as he himself tells us, was first suggested by Sir Francis Bacon,[2] Abbot left to his secretary, Master William Baker," as honest a man as ever served any master," together with the legacy of a diamond ring, and " the great inlayed cabinet of wood standing in the Queen's Chamber at Lambeth." [3]

In the days of Laud came the next serious check to the library's prosperity. The Archbishop set great store by the manuscripts at Lambeth, and the setting up of a Greek press in London and at Oxford and the procuring of letters and matrices in order that they might be printed,[4] was among the things he had projected under the divine blessing. When his

[1] *Cal. Clar. St. Papers*, vol. i, p. 40. [2] Ducarel, p. 51.

[3] Arthur Onslow, *Life of Dr. George Abbot* (1777), pp. 59 *et seq.*

[4] Laud, *Diary*, p. 68, xii.

misfortunes began, and Lambeth House was entered by the Cromwellian soldiery, in a petition preserved in the House of Lords' library he approached the Lords for the safety of his library.

"To the Right Honourable, the Lords assembled in Parliament"—he wrote, in great anxiety of mind, "the humble petition of William, Lord Arch-Byshop of Canterburye"—

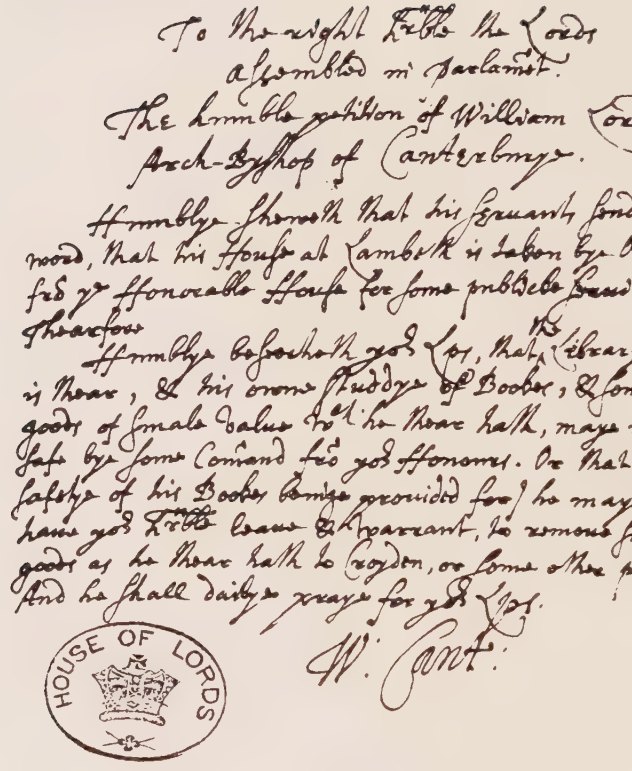
"Humbly sheweth," the words run "that his servants send hime word that his House at Lambeth is taken by Order from ye Honorable House for some publicke Service.
Thearfore
Humblye beseecheth y[our] L[ordships] that the Librarye wch is theare, and his owne Studdye of Bookes, and some other goods of smale value wch he theare hath, maye remaine safe bye some Command from yo[ur] Honours. Or that (the safety of his Bookes beinge provided for) he maye have y[our] h[onou]rable leave and warrant to remove such other goods as he thear hath to Croydon, or some other place. And he shall dailye praye for yo[ur] L[ordshi]ps. W. CANT:

November 9, 1642."

Fortunately the House of Commons had sufficient respect for its importance to order the "securing of the Publick Library belonging to the See of Canterbury, the Books Writings, and Evidences . . . in Lambeth House."[1]

Twenty-one bundles of papers, prepared for his own defence at his trial, his Diary and Book of Devotions, were taken from Laud's chamber, or from his pockets when he was searched in the Tower, by his enemy, William Prynne; other papers were looted in his deserted study at Lambeth; all these remained in Prynne's hands until his death. After the Restoration, Archbishop Sheldon, well knowing all the circumstances, followed Parker's course in the case of Archbishop Cranmer. He procured an Order of the King and Council deputing Sir William Dugdale, the antiquary, to

[1] *History of the Troubles and Tryal of William Laud*, pp. 1197, 8.



To the right Honble the Lords
assembled in parlam^t.
The humble petition of William Lord
Arch-Byshop of Canterburye.

Humblye sheweth that his servants send time
word, that his House at Lambeth is taken bye order
fro ye Honorable House for some publicke service. —
Thearfore
Humblye beseecheth yor Lps, that the Librarye w^ch
is thear, & his owne Studdye of Bookes, & some other
goods of smale value wch he thear hath, maye remaine
safe bye some Com^and fro yor Honours. Or that (the
safetye of his Bookes beinge provided for) he maye
have yor Honble leave & warrant, to remove such other
goods as he thear hath to Croyden, or some other place.
And he shall daibye praye for yor Lps.

W. Cant.

HOUSE OF LORDS

Nouemb: 9.
1642.

Photograph by Monger and Marchant.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S PETITION TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS FOR THE SAFETY OF HIS LIBRARY AT LAMBETH HOUSE.

Written from the Tower of London, November 1642.

To face page 215.

search Prynne's study in its turn, and to secure what Laudian writings there remained.[1] The editorship of the recovered papers was entrusted to Dean Sancroft of St. Paul's, but his call to the primacy and his many troubles intervened ; ultimately, on his death-bed at Fressingfield, he gave the History, the Diary and all the other papers, into the careful hands of their editor, Henry Wharton ; Wharton left the Diary and the History, both the original and Prynne's garbled copy, back to St. John's College, Oxford, " where the Author, the Archbishop was bred, to which place he ever bore so great a Love, and where his Body now remaineth."

In Archbishop Hutton's time, the Lambeth librarian, Dr. Ducarel, made a bold bid for the return of Laud's Diary. The Archbishop was in full sympathy with the request, but the President of St. John's College maintained a dignified silence. " If the President perseveres in his silence," wrote the Archbishop, " the best advice I can think of will be to get some friend to wait on him to know whether your letter was received ; whether he acknowledges the possession of the Diary ; and, if so, to signify to the President and College that the Archbishop would take it for a singular favour if they would allow it to be replaced in the Library at Lambeth, to which it appears formerly to have belonged. We shall know by the answer what farther step it may be prudent to take in order to recover the MSS." [2]

Archbishop Laud's books had a history no less stirring than his papers, a history into which the industrious Andrew Ducarel made careful research. After Laud's execution, John Selden, the jurist, who had been a reader at the public library in happier days and had learnt its value, brought to the notice of the Supreme Council the half-forgotten terms of Archbishop Bancroft's will ; Chelsea College never having been built, he sagaciously laid claim to the Lambeth books under the alternative bequest, on behalf of the University of Cambridge ; by an Order in Council, they were handed over

[1] *Ibid.*, Preface by Henry Wharton.

[2] Nichols, *Lit. Hist.* vol. iii, p. 468.

to the safe custody of the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars.[1] Dr. Hill, Master of Trinity College at this time, had also some share in this dramatic rescue. At Ducarel's request, Hill's successor, Dr. Mason, in the year 1760, searched the old account books of the Vice-Chancellor for some record of the Cambridge sojourn. He found that the Archbishop's books had been housed separately, in the Greek schools, and had there remained until a year or two after the Restoration, when Juxon began and Sheldon successfully completed negotiations for returning them to their former ownership.[2]

Nor was parliamentary intervention in the library's destinies altogether at an end. At this time, writes Professor Jenkins, " it received a further addition of great importance, for Parliament, in view of the evident inconvenience likely to arise from the wholesale destruction that was going on of the records of the dealings with benefices and ecclesiastical property during the interregnum, ordered such books and papers as could be recovered to be preserved in the Archbishop's library. This is the explanation of the inclusion in it of the great series of Augmentation Books and office copies of the Parliamentary Survey."

Henceforward, during what Professor Jenkins calls " the second stage of its history," the collection underwent no startling adventures, although from the scholar's standpoint, its story has been crowded and eventful, the record of growing wealth in books and documents, of increasing store set upon the treasure of the ages which it shelters.

Throughout the late seventeenth and the eighteenth century, under the vigilance of successive learned librarians, and by the energy of successive archbishops, valuable additions were constantly being made. Evelyn, in Sancroft's time, when he was a very frequent visitor, told Pepys that the Library was " replenished . . . with excellent books, . . .

[1] *Joannis Seldeni Opera*, ed. Wilkins, vol. i, p. xl. (*Vita Seldenis*).

[2] Rye, *Libraries of London*, 1927, p. 174.

and a good assembly of manuscripts in a roome by themselves." [1]

Sancroft, in the leisure of his enforced confinement at the Palace, catalogued the manuscripts with his own hand, and with the help of his learned chaplain and librarian, Henry Wharton, set the books in order. Queen Mary's peremptory 'notice to quit' as we have seen, cost the library the bequest of Sancroft's own collection, but Wharton's volumes of MS. notes from numerous sources were preserved by Archbishop Tenison. Under Tenison, the library owed much to the scholarly Edmund Gibson, another chaplain-librarian, afterwards Rector of Lambeth (1703) and Bishop of London. A letter which he addressed to Samuel Pepys shows him to have been a diligent custodian of its rarities.

"Honoured Sir," (it runs)

"His Grace is sorry that he cannot oblige you with the works of King Charles out of his own house, because Dr. Cradock, the donor, did (in his hearing) expressly charge that it should never be carried out of Lambeth Palace . . .

Sir, your most obliged Servant
EDMUND GIBSON.

Fearing our gates will be shut up before you go by, I leave this at the Coffee house."

A subsequent letter, to soften this blank refusal, invited Pepys to come from Clapham to look at King Charles's book, "printed for Royston in 1662." [2] On one occasion, after Dr. Gibson's promotion to the Rectory of Lambeth, he took the diarist Ralph Thoresby, who had dined with him, across to the palace and showed him the library. Thoresby's comments are of considerable interest. He found the library "very noble, and particularly that which the present Archbishop [Tenison] has placed there and given to the See." He adds that he "took a transient view of the registers, deeds etc. There is a noble collection of valuable authors.

[1] *Diary of John Evelyn* (Bray) 1819, p. 247.

[2] *Pepys Correspondence* (Braybrooke, 1825), p. 233.

I was best pleased with the Exemplar of the Common Prayer Book, strictly collated according to the Act by the Bishops immediately appointed, though I could not but observe that some parts constantly used in the country (but not here) are expunged, particularly the prayer (God whose nature and property etc.) which follows the collect or prayer for all conditions of men . . . "[1]

Archbishop Tenison who had founded the first public library in London, in Castle Street, Leicester Square, in a building designed by Wren, added to the Lambeth collection " many thousands of books and a considerable number of manuscripts." Secker left to it all the books in his private library which were required to fill gaps, and many learned MSS. of his own, chiefly consisting of biblical criticism.[2] Among all this bounty, from time to time individual gifts of some interest are recorded, such as the offer of a set of Rymer's *Fœdera* by Archbishop Herring's correspondent, William Duncombe, or the presentation of his son's epic, The Feminiad or Female Genius, together with a copy of Hetty Wesley's poems.[3]

September, 1755.—With such constant accessions, the task of making books and especially MSS. accessible to students was no light one. When Andrew Ducarel, at this time a surrogate in Doctors' Commons, was entrusted by Archbishop Herring with researches for a history of Croydon Palace, he decided that a search of the registers at Lambeth was imperative. This thoroughness gratified the Archbishop, and a room was ordered for Ducarel and his friend Rowe Mores (the historian of typography), where they could work undisturbed. The two men examined about fifty folio registers, leaf by leaf, and made innumerable extracts throughout the available muniments. Ducarel wrote to tell

[1] Thoresby's *Diary*, vol. ii, p. 107. (June 1, 1712, Die Dom.) He had previously heard Dr. Gibson preach in the parish church on the text " Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth."

[2] Beilby Porteous, *Life of Archbishop Secker* (1773), pp. iii and lix.

[3] Letters of Archbishop Herring to William Duncombe (1777), pp. 131, 145.

the Archbishop of their industry. "This search," he says, "took us up 60 successive weekdays (Sundays being excepted) from 9 in the morning till between 4 and 5 in the afternoon—During all that time we lived upon an halfpenny roll and half a pint of wine which we carried in our pockets." Upon this scanty fare, unwonted within such hospitable walls, Ducarel and Mores sorted and labelled "about 2000 old Records." Later on Ducarel was allowed to index and epitomise Pecham's Register. After a year's unremitting labour for Herring, he looked for some reward, and even 'took the liberty' of asking for a sub-librarian's place in the British Museum, at a salary of £150 a year and a lodging in Montagu House. This had already been bestowed elsewhere. Ultimately, to the great benefit of the archiepiscopal library, Ducarel was appointed Lambeth librarian,[1] and became the first historian of the Archbishop's Manor.

During Ducarel's term of office (with what a bad grace may be imagined) he was obliged on one occasion, upon the order of Archbishop Hutton, to hand over to a gentleman of the Exchequer, the priceless illuminated manuscript containing a supposed portrait of Caxton, a treasure which the Archbishop had lent Horace Walpole, for his convenience to be copied at Strawberry Hill.[2]

To this summary chronicle of the eighteenth century may be added, in conclusion, Archbishop Cornwallis's additions to the collection of pamphlets, and the valuable Syrian manuscripts brought from Jerusalem, Mount Athos and Constantinople by Professor Joseph Dacre Carlyle and Dr. Philip Hunt, and purchased for the library by Archbishop Manners-Sutton.[3]

[1] For the whole episode, see Nichols, *Illus. of Lit. Hist.*, vol. iv, p. 627.

[2] *Letters of Horace Walpole* (1877), vol. iii, p. 123 (Jan. 12, 1758).

[3] Rowden, *loc. cit.*, p. 424. For a full account of the historical MSS. at Lambeth, see a paper by Professor Claude Jenkins, *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.* 3rd series, vol. xi, p. 185.

(vi) THE PICTURES AT LAMBETH

The demolition of Pole's long gallery meant that the collection of portraits—chiefly of the archbishops—which had gradually accumulated there as the centuries passed, had to be housed elsewhere. Place was found for them on the walls of the guard room, where they still hang, arranged in their order as they lived. The collection is of outstanding interest, first and foremost because of the importance of the great churchmen and leaders who are represented there, each wearing the garb characteristic of his age ; next, because in many cases the paintings themselves are of a high excellence.

The sequence can hardly be said to begin until the sixteenth century, with Holbein's noble portrait of William Warham (1503-1533), he who held the see in the troublous beginnings of the Reformation. There are indeed some earlier representations ; there is a St. Dunstan with ' the Tempter ' perched upon his crozier ; there is Archbishop Arundel (1396-1414) who was banished by Richard II, to return later to England as the supporter of Henry Bolingbroke. The inscription over his head recalls that he, " Thomas Fitzallenus, Filius Comitis Arundellie," as well as being Archbishop of Canterbury was Constable of Queenborough Castle, a post comparable with the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports. But this picture—a poor copy by an artist unknown of a painting in Penshurst Castle—secured for the Lambeth collection by Archbishop Cornwallis—as a likeness is probably as apochryphal as St. Dunstan's. The next picture, Archbishop Henry Chichele, Founder of All Souls' College, and a great builder at Lambeth, represented in the act of benediction, may have better claims to verisimilitude ; Lambeth owns another likeness of Chichele, painted on glass, which is preserved in the north bay window of the library ; in Archbishop Herring's time, through a glazier's error, this was encircled by a scroll containing fragments of the motto " Nosce te ipsum et Deum "—always associated

with Cranmer, and originally in the window of the great parlour which he built.

Warham's splendid portrait is believed to have been given to him, together with a portrait of the reformer Erasmus, by Hans Holbein himself, or possibly by his first patron, Sir Thomas More. Archbishop Parker's will bequeathed these two pictures in his gallery, valued at £6, to his successors for ever. During the Commonwealth troubles they were lost in the general plunder of the palace. Sir William Dugdale, the antiquary, he who pleaded for Archbishop Parker's memorial, happily rediscovered Warham's picture and presented it to Archbishop Sancroft. That of Erasmus has never been found.[1]

Archbishop Cranmer appears twice in the collection. The earlier painting, Cranmer the servant of Henry VIII, a man in middle-life, is executed on a panel. "Already," Cave-Browne has written of it "there may be traced on the smooth face the lines of a plastic disposition; already the individuality of the man seems to be disappearing, and his nobler impulses to be suppressed, under the arbitrary control of the King."[2] This picture is attributed to a German painter, a certain Gerlach Fliccius, known only as Cranmer's portrayer. A signed and elaborated example of his work, dated in 1546, is now in the National Portrait Gallery.

The later portrait shows Cranmer a careworn and melancholy man.

The portrait of Cardinal Pole, resplendent in his crimson cape and Cardinal's cap, like those in which he first arrived in his barge from exile in Italy is believed to be by Sebastian da Piombo; it came somewhat late into this collection, being presented probably by Archbishop Moore at the close of the eighteenth century.[3] A second panel-picture of Pole, by an inferior artist, represents him as a much older man worn by anxiety.

The likeness of Matthew Parker, so great a figure in

[1] Cave-Browne, p. 127, and Ducarel, p. 43 n. [2] Cave-Browne, p. 129.
[3] Cave-Browne, p. 131.

English church history and so great a patron of art and scholarship, was given to posterity by Richard Lyne, a leading painter of his day (as we learn from Meres' *Palladis Tamia*) who held the post of engraver in the Lambeth household. Lyne was a fellow-craftsman of Remigius Hogenberg (also employed by Parker), and the two men co-operated in engraving a large genealogical chart of Great Britain, for the secretary Alexander Neville's Latin treatise upon Ket's Rebellion. Hogenberg's early engraved portrait of Parker "exactly traced off and etched" from the statutes which he gave Benet College, Cambridge "by the late excellent Mr. Tyson, Fellow of that College, 1769," is considered by many critics superior to Lyne's painting.

Mr. Cave-Browne suggested that Lyne might have taken this engraving as the basis of his work, incorporating the same details of book, casket, inkstand and hour-glass, but not having skill enough in another medium to improve upon his model.[1] Edmund Grindal's expressive portrait (1575-1583) is said to have been the work of Martin de Vos; Whitgift's two likenesses, one of which has clustered pillars and a cathedral window in the background, are both by an artist unknown, and the same must be said of Bancroft's, although that is so rich in colour and forceful in expression that its creator's name deserved better than to be forgotten.

The portrait of William Laud was painted by Van Dyck and given by him to the Archbishop. Possibly of all the Lambeth canvasses this one most skilfully embodies the very image of its subject, so devoted, so uncompromising, so unfortunate, the man of whom his friend could write that "the roughness of his uncourtly nature sent most men discontented from him; yet would he often of himself find ways and means to sweeten many of them when they least looked for it."[2] The fall of this portrait from the nail where it hung in Laud's study, and the ill-omen which he drew from

[1] Cave-Browne, p. 135. Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art. Lyne-Richard.

[2] Cave-Browne, p. 143, quoted from Southey's *Book of the Church*, vol. ii, p. 397.

the accident concerning his own fate, have already been described. It has been suggested that its preservation may be due to its having been put into safety with Laud's most treasured MSS. by Bishop Warner of Rochester. A copy of it in the Bodleian was given to the University by Sir John Robinson, son of Laud's half-sister; another, with a different background, at St John's College, was the gift of a member of the Buckeridge family to which Laud's well-loved tutor belonged. A replica, with very slight variations, probably painted by Van Dyck for Philip, fourth Baron Wharton, is, or was, in the collection at the Hermitage, and of this there are also copies in various great houses in England.[1]

Under the portrait of the pious Juxon, posed as nearly as possible as Laud had once been by a more skilful hand, one has again to write "artist unknown"; it is a copy of the picture "placed at Long Leat by the first Viscount Weymouth about 1700, and attributed to Van Dyck." There is a tradition that Juxon, the humble-minded, characteristically refused to sit to any one at all, and that the clothes having been adapted from Laud's picture, the face was painted in from memory or even captured after death, when King Charles's faithful servant lay in state for two days in the Divinity Schools at Oxford.

There is actually at Lambeth a very remarkable picture representing Juxon's dead face, calm and reposeful, a picture which was bequeathed to the see by Archbishop Wake.

Archbishop Cornwallis, who spared no expense nor pains to complete the sequence of portraits where there were gaps to be filled, procured those which represent Archbishops Gilbert Sheldon and William Sancroft, the latter being copied from the original by Bernard Lens (a Dutch or Flemish enamel-painter who practised in London) in the gallery at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, of which Sancroft was a great benefactor.

[1] For many of these facts I am indebted to MSS. notes by Mrs. R. L. Poole.

When Sir Godfrey Kneller painted Archbishop Tillotson, finding in him a strikingly handsome subject for his brush, he was content to give him his natural hair ; but when the Archbishop sat to Mrs. Maria Beale, the favourite pupil of Sir Peter Lely, she preferred him, woman-like, fashionably arrayed in a full-bottom wig, the first of all the be-wigged portraits, and she seated him appropriately, in a pretentious chair, the back surmounted by a mitre. Archbishop Thomas Tenison, that homely book-loving man, was painted by a Dutchman, Simon du Bois, the pupil of Wouvermans and protégé of Lord Somers, though Mrs. Beale was again called in to portray Mrs. Tenison, which she did with a charming skill. The likeness of William Wake is ascribed to Isaac Whood (1689-1752). Whood was a skilful imitator of Kneller's style, particularly when he painted ladies' portraits, and was patronised by the Duke of Bedford and many members of the Spencer and Russell families. He also designed illustrations for Butler's *Hudibras*.

Archbishop John Potter's official portrait is less interesting than his likeness as " a very clever little boy, the son of a linen-draper at Wakefield, who at the age of six could read the Greek Testament."[1] This portrait, representing a bright-faced child with long flaxen curls, was identified where it hung in a small bedroom in a Northamptonshire farmhouse, and presented by a member of Potter's family to Archbishop Howley. For several decades the primates, in all the dignity of lawn and full-bottomed wigs, were now to be portrayed by the leading painters of their day ; Thomas Herring (1747-51) added a Hogarth, Matthew Hutton (1757-8) a Hudson, and Thomas Secker (1758-68) a Sir Joshua to the sequence.

Cornwallis, the benefactor, was himself finely painted by Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland (1735-1811). Dance, the devoted admirer of Angelica Kauffman, was a foundation member of the Royal Academy and painter of George III, Queen Charlotte and Captain Cook ; Archbishop Moore's portrait is by Romney : the face is turned away so that only

[1] Cave-Browne, p. 159.

one cheek appears ; the other is said to have been scarred by some eruption which in later life spoiled the Archbishop's handsome countenance.

Charles Manners-Sutton, chosen with determination by George III to succeed Archbishop Moore, was the subject of Sir Thomas Lawrence's brush ; William Howley, who crowned and married Queen Victoria, and lies in Canterbury choir between Archbishops Bourchier and Chichele, was painted by Sir Martin Shee ;[1] Archbishop Sumner twice over, by Eddis and by Mrs. Carpenter.

Sir William Richmond painted both Archbishop Longley and his successor, Archibald Campbell Tait, and the long line is brought to a close by Sir Hubert Herkomer's paintings of Archbishop Temple and of Archbishop Benson and the fine portrait of Archbishop Lord Davidson of Lambeth, by Sargent. Benson's Diary has a characteristic note on the ordeal of a sitter : (Feb. 16, 1888) " Herkomer began to paint," he says ; " Terribly fatiguing work to sit and be entertained by a man who is thinking of something else all the time—fits of drowse and vivacity come alternately in mere despair of the situation." [2]

Lambeth possesses other noteworthy pictures which more or less appropriately find a place on its walls. There are Bishops like Richard Fox of Winchester, a liberal benefactor of Lambeth Parish Church where he built the tower ; or like the group of churchmen, who were nominated by William III to the Bench and sat under Archbishop Tenison's presidency, as members of the Ecclesiastical Commission to exercise Crown patronage during the King's absence in Holland ; or like Bishop Hoadby's portrait, painted by his wife, Sarah Curtis. There are portraits, also, of famous Lambeth librarians ; Peter du Moulin, Juxon's Chaplain, Dr. Edmund Gibson, afterwards Bishop of London, the

[1] Sir Martin Archer-Shee (1769-1850), painter, poet and dramatist, the rival of Sir Thomas Lawrence and a President of the Royal Academy. Art. *D.N.B. passim.*

[2] Benson, *Life*, vol. ii, p. 201.

learned Dr. David Wilkins and Henry Wharton, the editor of Laud's *Diary*.

A three-quarter-length portrait representing Katharine Howard, the first wife of Lord William Howard, who afterwards became Lord Howard of Effingham, and was Lord High Admiral of the Fleet, may have come to Lambeth through Lord William's kinship with Archbishop Parker.[1] Two royal portraits represent Prince Henry, the eldest son of James I, and Charles I, either painted by Van Dyck or a fine copy of his work. This was the picture which the King gave to Archbishop Laud, for which he purchased 'four holdfasts,' which he hid in his library when misfortune overtook him.

Most romantic of all is, perhaps, the portrait, re-identified about forty years ago, at Archbishop Benson's suggestion, as that of Penelope Devereux, Lady Rich.[2] It bears no name of subject or painter, but on the back the words "A Countess of Devon" are roughly inscribed. As is well known, Penelope, daughter of the Earl of Essex, was, in her girlhood, beloved by Sir Philip Sidney. She is the heroine of the *Astrophel and Stella* Sonnets, and there the special features of her beauty are many times described, her "amber-colour'd head," and the startling contrast of her dark eyes—

> "When Nature made her chiefe worke, Stella's eyes,
> In colour blacke, why wrapt she beames so bright?"

Penelope married unhappily a roué, Lord Rich, and consoled herself with such open unconcern that he at last divorced her. She was then re-married to her lover of years, the Earl of Devonshire, and by no less a person than his chaplain, William Laud. Laud, soon realising what he had done, was overwhelmed with remorse, and ever after converted into a fast the festival of St. Stephen, which had been the shameful marriage-day. Perhaps the Lambeth portrait of the black-eyed lady haloed with fair hair served also as a constant reminder of his fault.

[1] Cf. p. 111, *supra*.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, 7th series, vol. viii, p. 110 (Aug. 10, 1889).

CHAPTER XII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

(i) THE RE-BUILDING

As the centuries pass, it is evident that the maintenance of the buildings at Lambeth becomes more and more a burden on the see. Archbishop Abbot expended thousands of pounds on dilapidations, but his efforts and those of Archbishop Laud were rendered futile by the ill-handling of the property during the Commonwealth. Archbishops Juxon, Sheldon and Sancroft also spent large sums in reparations and in attempting to restore the old magnificence. In the eighteenth century Archbishop Wake made a demand upon his predecessor's executors for £3,469 for dilapidations. To this Dr. Edward Tenison replied that Archbishop Tenison (although his structural additions were limited to a rabbit-house, erected " without royal licence "), had spent at least £200 a year on keeping up the buildings, and the total outlay in about seventeen years of his primacy had been nearly £3,500, the repair of the landing-stair alone having cost over £1,000. Wake's claim was submitted to arbitrators, the Lord Chief Justice, the Dean of the Arches and the Bishop of Lichfield, who allowed a proportion, to the amount of £2,800. Further disputes about dilapidations arose between Herring's executors and his successor, with the result that Archbishop Matthew Hutton never came into residence at Lambeth at all, but during the brief year of his primacy lived, when he was in town, at his own house in Duke Street, Westminster.[1]

Elizabeth Carter's letters, written in Archbishop Secker's

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 469 (1758).

day, tell us how much of the " venerable old building " had already undergone modernisation. By her own wish, she was lodged in Lollards' Tower, which was still undisturbed, and she describes the outlook over " a long green court, terminated by the gateway, which forms a fine perplexity of arches in all directions." The tall trees of the Bishops' Walk sheltered the tower on the western side, and through their branches she could catch glimpses of the river which, at high tide, washed at the roots. This part of the palace was now as a rule untenanted, and with the romanticism of her day, the good lady loved to ramble along the " long narrow gothic passages which lead one knows not whither," and to re-discover in one of them a little window with a view down into the chapel. " I design," she tells her correspondent, Mrs. Vesey, " to look through it this evening by moonlight. Will not you accompany me? Yes, you shall, whether you will or not." [1]

The last word-picture of the manor, written by William Herbert in 1806, suggests that much that was interesting and picturesque, at least from a distance, still remained. " In the point of architecture," he tells us, " the present palace of Lambeth exhibits a motley appearance, convenience and accommodation having been studied in its various alterations and improvements rather than uniformity of style. Taken as a whole, however, its effect is highly venerable and imposing, particularly when viewed from the opposite banks of the Thames, or the adjacent bridge of Westminster, where the ancient parts are principally conspicuous. The leads on the top of the great gateway and of the Lollards' Tower afford likewise uncommonly fine views of the whole mass of building with the park and surrounding grounds, besides a vast extent of country." [2]

Some old drawings and engravings still exist to aid the imagination in reconstructing the palace as it once was.

[1] Carter, *Correspondence*, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 134.

[2] *Lambeth Palace Illustrated*, E. W. Brayley and W. Herbert (1806), p. 20.

MAP OF LAMBETH PALACE ESTATE IN 1812.
From a plan in the possession of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

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Hollar's drawing, for example (1647), gives the Great Hall as it appeared before its destruction during the Commonwealth, with battlements and the ' lucerna ' above the leaden roof. There, too, are the bridge or landing-stage, the elms in the entrance court and, to the south, the archbishops' barge-house. Another sketch, undated, taken from under Morton's Tower, depicts the Gothic entrance gate, which Juxon incorporated in his Great Hall, with a niche over the doorway, and above that again a three-light window. An engraving of 1740 shows a summer-house of two storeys, with a pointed roof, in the corner of the walled garden ; from others which represent the north façade, the position of Pole's Gallery can be seen, with the big bay window added by Archbishop Moore [1] and the terrace beneath, and of Cranmer's dining-room over the steward's parlour.

These representations, and the crowding memories of a great past, must fill the historian with profound regret when he turns to study the next document. This is the circumstantial report drawn up by Mr. Blore, who, in 1829, at the instigation of Archbishop Howley, fortified by a private act of Parliament (10 Geo. IV, c. 6) and by mortgages to the extent of £60,000—proceeded to demolish the archbishops' manor-house and to re-erect it in Victorian Gothic.[2] The report, as might be expected, draws a very dark picture indeed of existing conditions. The dismal description was possibly intended to hide some lingering feeling of compunction. At the present time, one can scarcely doubt, every effort would have been made to reconstitute rather than utterly to destroy things so venerable and irreplaceable ; the variety of date and style would only have lent additional charm, from the historian's standpoint. In 1829 it was not so ; the fiat went forth and old Lambeth House, the Gallery, the Cloister, the Presence Chamber, ' Crooked Lane,' and many other time-honoured features, disappeared for ever.

[1] Brayley and Herbert, *loc. cit.*, p. 19.

[2] The MS. report will be found in a Scrap-book at Lambeth Palace, together with engravings, etc., referred to here.

" The walls," writes Mr. Blore, " were decayed for want of repairs and weakened by the injudicious insertion, at various periods, of new doors and windows and by openings and alterations made for various other purposes." The pointing and stone-facings had in consequence perished. The basements were " dark, damp and filthy," the pavements broken and uneven, the floors and staircases rotten. The fittings of the rooms were " of the meanest and most common description and much neglected." As to the older portions which mercifully were spared to posterity, the chapel had a new brick parapet, and the guard-room (with its open roof, framed of massive moulded timber filled in with open tracery) had modern windows;[1] the Lollards' Tower was dilapidated and weather-worn, the Great Hall was dirty, neglected and applied to no useful purpose. " The remaining buildings," continues the report, " with the exception of the gallery, are for the most part of late date and possess no interest in any point of view ; they have evidently been erected so as to suit the individual wants of the possessors for the time and without regard to any general principle of arrangement, or, in point of style, to the character of the building." In the gallery itself, " the original features are almost entirely obliterated, both externally and internally, by the insertion of new sash windows, the destruction of the original ceiling, and substitution of a plain modern one, and by considerable alterations in the fittings."

To many readers the report is unconvincing ; dirt, broken pointing, even the insertion of sash windows, are not irremediable ; if the disappearance of " a mass of buildings of comparatively recent date,[2] family lodging rooms, inconvenient and dilapidated," between Juxon's Hall and the great gate house may, (with a pang of regret for Jessamine Hall), be conceded to the iconoclast for whom no style but the

[1] These must have been a very recent addition, unless Blore was in error ; Herbert's engravings show the old windows, which he describes as " painted and of ancient make," p. 35.

[2] Yet they were of Sancroft and Tillotson's time.

'gothic' was worthy of respect, he can scarcely be forgiven for a mutilation of the guard-room which ruined its fine proportions, and for the apparent lack of any effort to preserve at least the long gallery.

Blore's work was completed, to the general satisfaction, in 1833. Goda's manor-house stood transformed. "On my way back [from Roehampton]" wrote Sir Walter Scott in his journal, on his last visit to London before he returned to Abbotsford to die, "I called to see the repairs at Lambeth, which are proceeding under the able direction of Blore, who met me there.

"They are in the best Gothic taste, and executed at the expense of a large sum to be secured by way of mortgage payable in fifty years, each incumbent within the time paying a proportion of about £4,000 a year. I was pleased to see the splendour of church architecture returning again." What indeed remains to be said ?[1]

1847.—Shortly before his death, Archbishop Howley had extensive repairs carried out in the chapel; amongst other things the ceiled roof was embellished with plaster vaulting. Sir Gilbert Scott saw preparations, in the shape of "a core of spike and tar-cord," being made for this unseemly addition to a time-honoured building.[2]

(ii) LAMBETH AND THE WORLD-WIDE MESSAGE

The eighteenth century inherited from the closing decades of the seventeenth an eager interest in "promoting Christian Religion in our Foreign Plantations."

The history of that great spiritual movement in our church which, ebbing and flowing, was to gather in intensity for two centuries to come, must be sought elsewhere. These pages attempt only to recall a few significant events which happened at Lambeth.

At the very outset, during Archbishop Tenison's primacy, the first meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the

[1] Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, 1839, vol. x, p. 116.

[2] Scott, *Lectures on Med. Archit.*, vol. i, p. 174.

Gospel in Foreign Parts, was held there on 27th June, 1701. It was a small gathering of some twenty-nine persons, under the Archbishop's presidency, but it included men like Dr. Thomas Bray, formerly ecclesiastical commissary for Maryland, the founder of the elder Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and the eloquent Dr. Sherlock, Dean of St. Paul's, moving spirits in their day and generation. The aim of the new society was to supply living agents for the work of the Church overseas ; the business of that first meeting was the dignified formality of reading " His Majestie's Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England constituting a Corporation for Propagating the Gospell in Foreign Parts," the preparation of a seal, of bye-laws and standing orders.[1] After this meeting and possibly one other, the new society migrated to " the Cockpit " in Westminster and then settled down at Archbishop Tenison's Library in St. Martin's Square ; many of their books and papers, however, remained at Lambeth until 1713.[2]

Archbishop Wake was keenly imbued with the missionary spirit. He took special interest in the labours of Bartholomew Ziegenbolz and John Ernest Grundler, Danish missionaries supported by S.P.C.K. on the coast of Coromandel, and wrote to them, from Lambeth, letters that are almost apostolic in their fervour. " Let others," he says, " indulge in a ministry, if not idle certainly less laborious, among Christians at home. Let them enjoy, in the bosom of the church, titles and honours obtained without labour and without danger. Your praise it will be . . . through much peril and difficulty to have converted to the faith those among whom ye afterwards fulfilled your ministry. Your province therefore, Brethren, your office, I place before all dignities in the Church." [3]

It is well known that towards the close of Queen Anne's

[1] *Two Hundred Years of S.P.G.*, Pascoe, vol. i, p. 6.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 835.

[3] Anderson, *History of the Church of England in the Colonies* (1856), vol. iii, p. 97.

reign, members of the staff of Yale College, including the Principal, Timothy Cutler, and his predecessor, Samuel Johnson, were led to reconsider their position in relation to the Church of England and to seek communion with her. Cutler and Johnson came to London and were ordained deacon and priest in St. Martin-in-the-Fields.[1] There seemed every prospect that a better understanding was everywhere about to supersede the old rancour of Puritan days. But political differences intervened and the affairs of the Church suffered from their repercussion. Archbishop Secker realised regretfully that the passing of the Stamp Act made it for the present impossible for the Church of England to send out bishops to guide the infant churches of America.[2]

After a set-back of some twenty years, during the primacy of Archbishop John Moore, the project of an American episcopate was again reviewed.

In the last days of 1786 two American clergymen, Dr. William White and Dr. Provoost, Bishops-designate, arrived in London, and were escorted to Lambeth by Mr. Adams, the States ambassador. Dr. White himself describes, very charitably, the reception they met with as " polite and condescending." They presented their credentials, but, apologetically, the Archbishop postponed arrangements for their consecration for several days, " being engaged in some ecclesiastical business depending before the Privy Council ; and also in some concerns of a College of which he is the visitor. He added that when this was done, he would see us again."

If somewhat lacking in a sense of proportion, Archbishop Moore was not inhospitable. He entertained his guests to dinner at Lambeth, and Bishop White describes, somewhat drily, how the arrangements appeared to transatlantic eyes. The guests witnessed " a singular ceremony," which they supposed to be " a remnant of the state of former times." This was the Archbishop's ' Public Day,' when he kept open

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 546, 569. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 546, 569.

house during the session of Parliament. " We waited on him," the Bishop writes, and, " supposed, from what we saw, that the several eminent persons who entered, came uninvited as to that particular time. Before dinner the Archbishop rose, bowed to the company, and left the room. They followed ; all of them, no doubt, besides ourselves, understanding the transaction. After passing through a suite of rooms we found ourselves in the Chapel, in which were the two Chaplains in their surplices. One of them read the Litany, after which we returned to the room wherein we had been received. Soon afterwards we were called to dinner . . . the reading of the Litany, including the prayers attached to it in the English Book of Common Prayer, and none other, seems a remnant of former practice ; it having been originally a distinct service . . . "[1]

During December and January lengthy conversations took place between His Grace, members of the " Right Reverend Bench," who had come to town for Parliament and the Queen's birthday, and their two visitors, on the subject of the American liturgy and other affairs of the American church.[2] The English prelates thought well to limit the number of American consecrations in England to three ; this would meet the immediate needs ; in future, measures for continuing the ministry of bishops must be taken on the spot.[3] At length, all things being in order, Dr. White and Dr. Provoost were consecrated in Lambeth Chapel. The Archbishop of Canterbury was assisted by the Archbishop of York, who presented the new Bishops, and the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and of Peterborough joined in the laying-on of hands. Dr. White's own narrative gives us the sense of the new and old world coming into a contact still not at all points sympathetic. " It was particularly agreeable to us," he remarks, " to see the Bishop of Bath and Wells ; because we had all along understood that in the beginning this aged and vener-

[1] White, *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.* (1820), p. 155.

[2] White, *loc. cit.*, pp. 143, 149.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

able prelate had entertained scruples on the subject of the application of our Church . . . we presumed that his difficulties were now removed . . . the sermon was a sensible discussion of the long litigated subject of the authority of the Church to ordain rites and ceremonies. The text was ' Let all things be done decently and in order.' The discourse had very little reference to the peculiarity of the occasion. The truth was, as the Archbishop had told us on Friday, on our way to Court, that he had spoken to a particular friend to compose a sermon for the occasion, and had given him a sketch of what he wished to be the scope of it. This friend had just sent him information of a domestic calamity, which would excuse him from attendance ; and the Archbishop was then under the necessity of giving a short notice to one of his Chaplains [Dr. Drake]." [1]

At dinner after the service, the visitors' illusions about the Eikon Basilike, which they had always loyally believed to be a " true expression of the feelings of King Charles I in some of the most trying circumstances of his life," were rudely dispelled by Peterborough's asserting, without contradiction, Bishop Gauden to be the real author. They sailed for America next day, full of gratitude for the kindness shown to them, and for the Archbishop's generosity in prohibiting the usual exorbitant fees, which he thought " improper on the present occasion," reducing their charges to a nominal figure.[2]

August 12, 1787.—Six months later Lambeth Chapel saw the consecration of the first Colonial Bishop, Charles Inglis, called to administer the huge diocese of Nova Scotia, comprising " the whole of the British Possessions in North America from Newfoundland to Lake Superior," an area now divided into ten or more bishoprics.[3]

[1] White, *loc. cit.*, p. 158. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[3] Pascoe, *loc. cit.*, vol. i, p. 117. During Archbishop Howley's primacy (1828-48) the number of Colonial Bishops is said to have increased from five to twenty-two (Harrison, p. 69).

(iii) LAMBETH UNDER THE VICTORIAN ARCHBISHOPS (FROM HOWLEY TO TEMPLE)

During the first half of the nineteenth century it is difficult to gain any vivid impression of life within Lambeth Palace walls. There are no intimate biographies of Archbishops Manners-Sutton, Sumner or Longley ; the articles describing them in the *Dictionary of National Biography* are evidence of this. Family papers of interest were taken away by those most concerned, as each primate in turn went to his rest and gave place to his successor.

William Howley, 1828-1848.—The drastic changes in the fabric wrought by Archbishop Howley have been described. There is a glimpse also of Mrs. Howley in the garden she skilfully laid out ; until recent times it retained the character she had given it, " the broad bowling-green, thickets and winding walks, sumach and elms, unique in London,"[1] a garden which the wood-pigeons filled with soothing sounds and marauded without compunction. Howley had been consecrated Bishop of London in Lambeth Palace Chapel, in the presence of Queen Charlotte, then an old lady of nearly seventy, and of two of her daughters, none of them having seen a consecration before.[2] He baptized Queen Victoria and as primate crowned and married her. At least on one occasion she honoured him with an afternoon call ; she admired the fine view from the great window in the drawing room, over the river to the Westminster towers, although she remarked to Lord Melbourne how greatly the smoke and fog impeded her outlook.[3]

Howley's long tenure of office reached a close at Lambeth, and on 19th February, 1848, his funeral cortege passed out through the palace gate. The description of it epitomises that ' luxury of grief ' so characteristic of his day. First went the parish beadles, then four mutes on horseback,

[1] *Life of E. W. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury*, vol. i, p. 580.

[2] *Gentleman's Mag.*, n.s. (1868), vol. xxix, p. 426.

[3] *Letters of Queen Victoria* (1908), vol. i, p. 388.

eighteen clergymen of the district, a plume of black feathers, a hearse drawn by six black horses, a train of mourning coaches, some of them belonging to the Royal Family, the Bishop of London, the Speaker and " Miss Burdett Coutts."[1]

Howley was a staunch Tory ; he struggled with ineffectual courage and resolution against Catholic Emancipation and was mobbed at Canterbury for opposing the Reform Bill. His personality, so kindly, so unassuming, is described with affectionate esteem in a charge addressed to the Canterbury clergy by his friend Archdeacon Benjamin Harrison, called " The Remembrance of a Departed Guide and Ruler in the Church of God." It dwells on his unworldly simplicity and childlike humility, his sympathy and bounty to the poor folk of Lambeth, and it recounts a saying of Dr. Chalmers that after an evening spent with the Archbishop he could think of nothing but the prophet Daniel's description of those " upon whose bodies the fire had no power nor was an hair of their head singed, nor the smell of fire had passed on them." [2]

Charles Longley, 1848-1862.—After Archbishop Longley's day, their lives increasingly spent in the crowded atmosphere of modern conditions, came three great Archbishops, Archibald Campbell Tait (1862-1868), Edward White Benson (1868-1883), and Frederick Temple (1883-1897). The occasion of Archbishop Tait's first visit to Lambeth is amusingly described in the biography written by his son-in-law, now Archbishop Lord Davidson of Lambeth. Tait was at the time visiting London on his way to Oxford, where he was to sit for a Balliol scholarship. " He came in," a letter tells, " one evening from a walk. ' Where have you been, Archie ? ' he was asked. ' Walking, through Lambeth,' he replied. ' Through Lambeth ! ' was the astonished answer ; ' why, whatever possessed you to walk in Lambeth ? ' ' Well, I wanted to see how I shall like the place when I get there.' " [3] The remark, made half in jest, half in earnest, acquired the

[1] *Gentleman's Mag., loc. cit.*, p. 428.

[2] Harrison, *Remembrance of a Departed Guide* (1848), p. 20 *passim*.

[3] *Life of A. C. Tait* (1891), vol. i, p. 42.

vitality of a prophecy. His friends write to the undergraduate of "your Palace of Lambeth," "your future episcopal residence," and in the course of some forty years it becomes, in fact, his home. Once again the veil over Lambeth is lifted upon scenes vitally interesting to the English Church, mingled with others, sad or joyful, of domestic experience. In the late summer of 1878 the Archbishop and Mrs. Tait returned to their home, scarcely recovered from the staggering blow of an only son's death, to receive as their guests the members of the Second Lambeth Conference. "The partially restored chapel," says Dr. Tait's diary, "welcomed the procession of nearly a hundred bishops, coming down from the Gallery and entering the West Door . . . Each day there has been luncheon in the Guard Room for all the bishops, and many have found their way to join the family in the little dining room. Perhaps all this, with the attendant business, has not been bad for us; certainly it has never for a moment driven from our minds the one absorbing thought."[1] Again, not long before Mrs. Tait's last illness, the chapel received a bridal party; on a "solemn as well as a joyful day," Edith Murdoch Tait, the Archbishop's young daughter, was married in the presence of the household and close friends to her father's chaplain, Randall Davidson.[2] Characteristically, the poor folk in the neighbourhood were invited to rejoice also. They crowded into the post room and ante-chapel to witness the happiness of their friend, who, could they have foreseen it, was destined, not so many years later, to return among them as an archbishop's wife. To the long roll of guests at Lambeth many interesting names were added about this time. The Crown Prince of Sweden came—in the midst of the nation's mourning for the Prince Imperial;[3] Bret Harte, the American writer, came also, bubbling over with humorous tales;[4] the Queen's youngest son, Leopold, Duke of Albany, came, to meet seventy-three guests at a dinner for the Sons of the

[1] *Life, loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 330.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 333.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 519.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 537.

Clergy.[1] There, too, arrived in great distress and poverty, an Armenian ex-archbishop, Migherditch by name, a zealous reformer, seeking the Primate's counsel. "We all tried to comfort him as much as we could," the diary relates. "I took him with me into the Chapel for a little prayer. He left me saying, 'I was dead; you have raised me up,' and kissed my hand."[2]

There were great gatherings, in the hospitable rooms or on the green lawns, of people of all ranks and all ages; there was less feasting, perhaps, than of old time, but no less goodwill. One of the best remembered of the galas is the summer party in connection with the growing Sunday School Movement; this finds a place in the diary already quoted. "Saturday, great excitement. Prince and Princess of Wales here with all their five children; the Tecks with three children; the Duke of Cambridge, the King of the Hellenes, Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, and about 500 private guests, besides 21,000 children, and an innumerable company of spectators. The rain, which came in tremendous gusts, cleared off for an hour while the Royal party were with us . . . This great Sunday School Movement calls for prayer. It seems to be the leaven which may preserve the land . . . Five millions of scholars and 500,000 teachers must be a power for God."[3]

Archbishop Tait died at Addington upon Advent Sunday, 1882.[4]

Part of his public memorial was the completion of the chapel's re-decoration, begun, with his consent, by Mr. Rate.[5] The scheme included much wall-painting and, especially, the replacement in the lancet windows of stained glass representing the original scheme—(as early at least as Cardinal Morton's time, and restored by Archbishop Laud)

[1] *Life, loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 541.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 520.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 532.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 597.

[5] Archbishop Tait is said to have remarked, when the restoration of the windows was proposed, "Well, you may otherwise do what you please, but I charge you not to do anything which will cause me to incur my predecessor's fate." See *Life of E. W. Benson*, vol. ii. p. 573.

—namely the series of types and antitypes of Our Lord derived from the *Biblia Pauperum*.

1894.—Later on, the east window was altered by Archbishop Benson. He removed certain scenes as being "strange types of the Resurrection," replaced the original hexameter verses, and added two new scenes, abolished at Laud's death and hitherto not restored. These were the Delivery of Daniel from the Lions' Den, and two panels of Soldiers and Priests, with the old motto beneath. "The correct particulars," he writes, "are given by Prynne and have been humbly followed by me."

The improvements in the palace under Archbishop Benson are described in the biography written by his son, the late Arthur Christopher Benson.[1] With characteristic interest in ceremonial detail, the Archbishop designed an 'iron curule chair' which, covered with white camlet, was placed on special occasions before the altar for his use. In the vestry he hung "an Engraving of Archbishop Parker's consecration and a photograph of Fra Angelico's monk with finger on lip." Like Laud, a lover of music, he provided a new organ for the chapel; this was specially built for the organ-loft (which is in reality a room in Cranmer's tower abutting on the north chapel-wall), and was "put at a special angle to increase the volume of sound."

A new lectern, a brass eagle, was given by the Duchess Adeline of Bedford and other ladies who had attended weekly devotional meetings in the chapel, in memory of Mary Eleanor Benson, the Archbishop's eldest daughter. She died at Addington, 27th October, 1890, in her twenty-eighth year. The daily routine at Lambeth had, by now, become one of continual pressure. Where Cardinal Pole had ridden out into Lambeth Fields, unhurried, in a splendid state, Benson snatched a short evening hour for his favourite exercise, finding across Lambeth Bridge softer going for his horse's feet in the Mall or in Hyde Park.

The post-bag was typical of the changes time had wrought.

[1] *Life, loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 582, *et seq.*

In Archbishop Howley's era, as the old gate-porter used to recall, " the General Postman, dressed in bright scarlet, brought the country letters every morning and came round again at five o'clock in the evening to collect the letters for dispatch. He went to the front door, ringing in his hand a heavy bell, to give notice of his coming. He had a guinea a quarter from the Palace. The General Post letters in the morning for the Archbishop and Mrs. Howley were put in a china bowl in the hall. There was scarcely enough to cover the bottom of it." [1] But the world of comparatively narrow compass typified by those few letters in the china bowl had broadened out, its voluminous missives now arrived from hour to hour. Mr. Benson paints a word-picture of his father on some evening when, opening his study door, he perceives the wad of letters on the long chest outside. There he stands, " in evening dress—purple coat, shoes with the gold buckles that had belonged to Archbishop Howley—big glasses on his nose, reading abstractedly by the light of a bed-candle . . . touching with the finger-tips of his left hand the thumb of his right hand—a common action of his, and just looking up to smile and nod vaguely, or shaking his head, with a mock groan descriptive of despair, as one passed, his thoughts intent on the letter or paper he was studying. There he would stand, long after family and guests had retired to bed, reading, meditating, devising." [2]

Even before the meeting of the first Lambeth conference (1867) questions of ritual were occupying the minds of thoughtful churchmen. In February, 1866, Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford was at Lambeth, writing during the ritual discussions of the bishops—" no light yet, nor do I expect very much to come," and again, a few days later, " The discussion was continued : nothing of very great importance . . . with the exception of a characteristic remark from the aged Bishop of Exeter ; ' if you try to enforce the rubric you will have a rebellion ; try to alter it and you will cause a

[1] *Life of Tait, loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 556 (footnote).

[2] *Life of Benson, loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 584.

shipwreck.' "[1] But under Archbishop Benson came a first great climax of the controversy, in the trial of the Bishop of Lincoln for certain ritual practices, which was held before him and five Bishops Assessors (London, Oxford, Rochester, Salisbury and Hereford) in Lambeth library. The Court sat between 23rd July, 1889, and 25th February of the following year. The Archbishop, who reserved his judgment, was then immediately involved in preparations for its pronouncement. He would be found in his dressing-room at Lambeth " surrounded with stacks of books, deep in liturgiology as if he had nothing else to do."[2] The immense labour was completed early in October, 1890, and the historic judgment, which some regarded as " the most courageous thing that had come from Lambeth for 200 years," was given a month later.[3]

On that occasion " the scene in the Great Library," says his biographer, " was very impressive. That vast room, with its high timbered roof and the tall cases of books, was a striking setting for the solemn scene enacted. The Bishops sat in a semi-circle, the Archbishop being in the centre with his seat raised ; all were in full episcopal robes ; Sir James Parker Deane, in a full-bottomed wig and scarlet Doctor's gown, gave a legal colouring to the assembly. The Hall was densely crowded, almost every eminent High Churchman being seen there at some stage of the proceedings." As will be remembered, the court decided on some counts against the defendant, but others were given in his favour.

Frederick Temple, 1896-1902.—Archbishop Temple, who succeeded to the primacy when he was seventy-five years old, found himself faced with the necessity of great expenditure upon his residence. Like Archbishop Parker before him, he laid out generous sums on improving the sanitation ; the mediaeval system of drainage, by which the daily tides were still utilised to flush the sewers, was replaced by more

[1] Wilberforce, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 176-191.
[2] *Life of Benson*, vol. ii, p. 355.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 358.

modern arrangements. The stonework, erected sixty years before, had much decayed under the action of London smoke and chemical fumes from neighbouring factories. New stones were everywhere substituted for the faulty ones, and the surface was treated with a preservative solution. About this time the last remaining meadow, nearly ten acres in extent, which had long been used as a playing-field by London games-clubs, was formally handed over to the London County Council, although the right of re-entry into possession of it, with any improvements the Council might have effected, was formally reserved to future archbishops. The new park was divided into two enclosures, one being, by Mrs. Temple's wish, set apart for the use of Lambeth mothers and their little children.[1]

(iv) THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE

Let us for a moment retrace our steps. Three quarters of a century have gone by since the consecration of Bishop Inglis. In 1867, after long preparation, comes an event of unique importance, namely, the first Lambeth conference of bishops of the Anglican Communion.

" The first official step in connexion with the assembling of such a conference was taken not in England but in Canada," relates Archbishop Lord Davidson, in a book written in anticipation of the fourth conference (1897). " The notion had indeed been in the air for many years, both in England and abroad, and the final impulse which gave it effect was eminently significant of the changed conditions of the Church." [2]

The Canadian appeal was strengthened by the troubles of the Church in South Africa, where the writings of Bishop Colenso of Natal, impugning the historic character of certain Old Testament books, had aroused a world-wide storm of indignant protest. Yet many English bishops, especially the

[1] *Memoirs of Archbishop Temple*, by Seven Friends, vol. ii, p. 264.

[2] Davidson, *The Lambeth Conferences of* 1867, 1878 *and* 1888 (pub. 1896).

learned Bishop Thirlwall of St. David's, felt much misgiving, lest the proposed conference should endanger the independent position of the home episcopate, if colonial and American bishops should outvote them upon some question of church doctrine or discipline. Archbishop Longley gave his assurance to the most cautious, that Colenso's position should not be made a subject of debate at Lambeth, and the invitations were duly issued to 144 bishops of the Anglican Communion and accepted by seventy-six. The conference assembled on Tuesday, 24th September, 1867, the opening service in Lambeth Palace chapel being preceded by a celebration of the Eucharist; the sermon, on a text from Col. i. 24—" We fill up what is behind in the sufferings of Christ "—was preached by Bishop Whitehouse of Illinois. Naturally much was expected from a preacher on such an occasion before such a gathering; the text, however, was criticised as ' unreal,' some of the hearers fearing ridicule if the sermon were published, since " the hospitalities of the week were not very like afflictions." [1] The discourse was also criticised, as being " a flow of words without ideas, very long and nothing to the point." [2] Yet those who re-read it to-day will find in it a battle-cry not wholly without appeal. " Ours," says the preacher, " is the superb energy of revival when the Church moves aggressively, . . . rallies her men, women and children for work through society . . . in the throng of cities, over fields and hamlets, in mines and factories, following enterprise to the distant colony and reclaiming the waste." [3]

At this first conference, the earlier discussion centred round an all-important resolution, formulating, once and for ever, the intention of the " Bishops of Christ's Holy Catholic Church in visible Communion with the United Church of England and Ireland " in thus, from time to time, coming together at the Archiepiscopal Palace of Lambeth; their intention, that is, of promoting unity among Christ's flock,

[1] *Life of Tait, loc. cit.*, vol. i, p. 378.

[2] *Life of Samuel Wilberforce* (Ashwell and Wilberforce), vol. iii, p. 231.

[3] Davidson, *loc. cit.*, p. 71.

by the common counsel and common worship of its chief pastors.[1]

In spite of Archbishop Longley's undertaking, the later meetings of the conference were sadly overshadowed by controversy upon the forbidden subject, and by an attempt to hasten on the consecration of Colenso's successor. At the close, an encyclical letter, for the bishops' signature, was drafted by the Bishop of Oxford, and on the fourth day, after the *Gloria in excelsis* had been sung, the Primate dismissed his brethren with the benediction.[2]

This initial conference, as also the fourth in 1897, was held in the Guard Room, where the portraits of the archbishops look on from the walls ; the other four met in Juxon's Hall, now the library.

It is of interest to recall that Bishop Colenso was himself at Lambeth in December, 1875, discussing with Archbishop Tait the ill-treatment of the natives in Natal by some of the colonists, and the steps he had taken to arouse public indignation.[3]

July, 1878.—Archbishop Tait presided over the second Lambeth conference of 100 bishops, at a time when his home was overshadowed by the recent death of his only son, Craufurd Tait. In the ten years that had gone by, the Church of England had come face to face with fresh urgencies, and, as a result, the assembly had now to consider resolutions that touched the Anglican position in respect of ritual and confession.

Lambeth hospitality was extended to all the American bishops in turn and at the conclusion the Archbishop wrote in his diary : " Thank God the Conference has ended well. Everything has been conducted in the best possible spirit. . . . The newspapers tell all the world is to know at present of our proceedings, and the chest in the Lambeth Library will preserve details for future generations. . . . The kindly feeling

[1] Davidson, *loc. cit.*, p. 15.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 16, and cf. *Life of Tait*, vol. i, pp. 379-80.

[3] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii, p. 305.

between ourselves and the Americans, and indeed between the home and all the distant Bishops has been most marked."[1]

The spectacular moments of these great assemblies are not to be sought in the comparatively narrow surroundings of Lambeth so much as in the cathedral at Canterbury, or in Westminster Abbey. Yet Lambeth chapel also has its impressive memories. "The Chapel was filled," writes Archbishop Benson of the third conference in July, 1888, "it was barely possible to find seats for all—and the repetition of the Nicene Creed, said, not sung as elsewhere, with intense earnestness by Bishops of the Reformed Church drawn from all parts of the world was a witness to the reality of the Anglican Communion which could not easily be forgotten."[2]

The historian of the third conference describes the low platform erected in the great library, with seats for the three archbishops and the seven metropolitans, placed in a semicircle on either side of the President's chair.[3] The number of bishops who came from the world's ends to share the debates had now reached 145, and the discussions were more particularly upon authoritative standards of doctrine and worship, upon the relation of the Anglican Communion with other churches east and west, and the mutual relation of dioceses and branches within its own borders. Loyal addresses were offered to Queen Victoria, and she rejoiced to hear how harmonious the large meeting of bishops had been.[4] The twelve hundredth anniversary of the landing of St. Augustine in 547, led, at Archbishop Benson's suggestion, to a year's antedating of the fourth conference due in 1898. Meanwhile, Dr. Benson died suddenly at Hawarden, and the president's duty devolved upon his successor in the primacy; to the sympathetic personality of the one, which had made him "a *persona gratissima* to the American Bishops," there succeeded the rugged strength of the other, arousing their

[1] *Life of Tait*, p. 330. [2] *Life of Benson, loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 214.
[3] Davidson, *loc. cit.*, p. 43.
[4] *Life of Benson, loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 216.

reverence and warm personal affection. After the conference ended, there arrived at Lambeth a set of vessels for private Communion, "of gold, exquisitely designed and richly jewelled," and inscribed to him, who "in the spirit of power, and of love and of a sound mind," had guided the bishops in their counsels.

As one conference followed upon another, the growth of numbers necessitated more careful arrangements for an effective working of the whole machinery. Archbishop Temple's practical mind, with the help of skilful advisers, completed a routine scarcely, it was held, to be improved upon. At his first session the members found that great care had been taken for their convenience and comfort. Each bishop—they now numbered 197—"had his own armchair, with useful adjuncts for making notes; the chairs were arranged in deep rows, facing one another on either side of a central space down the middle of the Guard Room. . . . There was provision of lockers for all. Long lines of tables for luncheon in broad passages, and so forth." Each metropolitan and all the bishops from the United States of America were invited in turn to stay for some days in the house.[1]

The Archbishop had at this time, it will be remembered, reached the great age of seventy-nine: he died at Lambeth on 11th December, 1902.

The two succeeding conferences, both held under Archbishop Davidson's presidency, were separated by the greatest war of human history. When the bishops came together at last, in 1920, delayed for two years by dangers of travel, it was to face the reconstruction of a shattered world, the rebuilding of all that kingdom of peace and goodwill of which the Church is God's symbol upon earth.

Owing to the rapid increase of the episcopate at every conference, the task of 'Her Grace' at Lambeth, as hostess, grew more arduous, the hospitality of the house more widely flung. Of the two hundred and fifty bishops who

[1] *Life of Temple, loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 271.

attended in 1920, all those whose homes were overseas, with their wives, were guests of Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson, not for a meal only, but for a night's stay or longer. There are many men and women of all degrees scattered about the world who, remembering his name, remember hers also, with joy and gratitude, and their Lambeth visit as a lifelong inspiration.

(v) UNDER ARCHBISHOP DAVIDSON IN PEACE AND WAR

1903-1928.—The century was still young, when, a year or two after King Edward VII. had received the sceptre of dominion from his mother's hands, Archbishop Davidson entered on an eventful primacy of twenty-five years.

Turning first to the palace itself: at this time many parts of great historic interest were brought back to the uses of ordinary life. Morton's favourite audience chamber, over the gateway, and the rooms adjoining, were restored, and modern requirements provided, so that, once more, they could be inhabited by chaplains and secretaries.[1] Still more noteworthy was the restoration of the crypt beneath the chapel, " the greate Seller " of Laud's day. This had been for several generations filled almost to the roof with an accumulation of rubble. It was now cleared and skilfully repaired, and once again the beautiful Purbeck shafts, the triplets of windows, trefoil-headed, with their massive grilles, the vaulted roof, were brought to view. Within the house, modern systems of lighting and heating were installed, and examples of fine old furniture, which our generation has learnt to prize, were rescued from forgotten corners. The chapel was also enriched in many ways. Three altar-steps of marble, to represent the steps, white, black and red, which Dante saw on the threshold of purgatory, were given by friends and family in remembrance of the primate's silver wedding. Archbishop Davidson put back the beautiful Laudian altar-rails, removed to Addington some decades

[1] Or used as offices by bodies such as the Archbishops' Advisory Board for Preventive and Rescue Work.

earlier, and a brass font, a copy of the one in Little Gidding church, was placed in the ante-chapel in memory of Mrs. Benson, widow of Archbishop Benson.

Throughout the eventful years 1914-1918, the Lambeth area had its full share of the strain and stress of war. From poor homes the bread-winners went, in their thousands, to the Front, and the trains that carried them seawards rumbled out over railway arches beneath which their children passed to and fro to school. The nearness of the river and of the large southern termini focussed unwelcome attentions on this district. At one time, air-raid signals sounded with startling frequency ; during the night, above the city veiled in darkness, the searchlights' magnificent streamers swept the sky. Sometimes the roar of guns was heard and into humble streets the enemy's bombs brought terror and devastation. And amidst it all, Lambeth Palace played a characteristic part. The Archbishop's offer to the War Office that the house should be converted into a hospital was not accepted, but its usefulness in other directions was unlimited. It gave lodging to many ; to the searchlight men, for example, employed on Lambeth Bridge, to the V.A.D. ladies working among the wounded in St. Thomas's Hospital. A room on the first floor of Morton's Tower was used by a committee which cared for the welfare of munition workers in factories : for many weeks in the spring of 1917 more than fifty little girls from the Tait Homes at Broadstairs were housed while their schools were untenable, owing to the fear of enemy bombardment. Mr. Walter Page, the American ambassador, who visited Lambeth at this anxious moment of the war—and there met Lord Morley and talked to him of Bright and Cobden—says that he dined with his hosts in the small dining room, because, as Mrs. Davidson explained, the large one was occupied by the refugee children.[1]

During the air-raids, the Archbishop's poorer neighbours, dwellers in small frail houses, were encouraged, whether by

[1] *Life and Letters of W. H. Page*, vol. ii, app., p. 419.

day or night, to take what shelter the Palace afforded from bombs or falling shrapnel.

The crypt and Morton's Tower, which for some reason was often preferred to the greater comparative safety of the ' Seller ' underground, were crowded, especially with women and children seeking refuge. " The nightly scenes in the crypt," writes one who was constantly present, " will not easily be forgotten by those who witnessed them. The atmosphere of recovered calm ; the hymn-singing which brought consolation to simple hearts, the Bible-reading, the prayer—Lighten our darkness we beseech Thee . . . and by Thy great mercy defend us from all perils and dangers of this night . . . —often said by the Archbishop himself."

In the early war-years, also, there were strange episodes when certain militant suffragettes presented themselves at the palace door, refusing to stir until a suffrage measure enfranchising women were made law : they were invited into Lollards' Tower and persuaded that a protracted siege could in no way help forward their cause. Later on Miss Annie Kenney, half-dead from persistent hunger-strike, and newly discharged from gaol, was laid in a stretcher at the gate, but on this occasion no notice could be taken and her friends presently carried her away again.

During the era of reconstruction, since peace returned, Lambeth Palace has been the centre of innumerable activities.

The longing for religious unity in a distracted world has found expression in the visits of oriental patriarchs, metropolitans or bishops, to the home of the Archbishop of Canterbury, while the series of meetings between Anglican ecclesiastics and the leaders of non-episcopal bodies in England has made it, to a degree unknown in all its long history, a place where English Free Churchmen readily foregathered. And more recently, as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, bishops of the Church have met at Lambeth to debate the subject of Prayer-Book Revision. Again and again the large drawing-room has been for the time being transformed (as, in its degree, the Magna Camera was of old),

into " a council room for the whole episcopate of England." The record of these gatherings, carefully preserved, will make their significance plain to future generations of church people.

(vi) AN EPILOGUE

This story of Lambeth, having reached a quarter-century changeful and eventful beyond all description, cannot close without mention of one event which has no parallel in English archiepiscopal records. In the autumn of 1928, not long after his eightieth birthday, Archbishop Randall Davidson resigned his office into the King's hands. As one of his friends has well written, " Full of years and of honours, trusted and beloved throughout the country, he felt that the guidance of the Church of England, which he had faithfully served, must now pass to younger hands. It cost him sore to relinquish the work which had been as his life, and the home made sacred to him and to his wife by long association. He laid down his great task in the same strong sense of duty, with which he had performed it during twenty-five strenuous testing years."

The last episode of all stands alone. There had been nothing hitherto comparable to that golden wedding day,[1] when bride and bridegroom, grown old together, knelt in the place where, fifty years since, their pledges had been given ; nothing comparable to that hour of farewell, when the sheaves were brought home, and kinsfolk and friends rejoiced with the reapers. More than one picture of the day's events might well find a place here ; two only shall be chosen.

* * * * * * * * *

In the crowded chapel the Archbishop stands by the altar-rail, holding in his hand, like a torch, the silver candlestick caught up to illumine the pages from which he reads the Apostle's thanksgiving for the gospel fellowship.[2]

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[1] November 10, 1928. [2] Phil. iv, 3-11.

Half-an-hour later, with no ceremonial, and but few spectators, in the Archbishop's study of many laborious years, an emissary of the nation, the Prime Minister, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, presents to Randall Davidson the nation's gift, reminding his little group of hearers—and reminding England and the Empire—how consistently this servant of their Church had taught and practised in all things the lesson of life which is " Love unfeigned."

* * * * * * * * *

A few hours later, Big Ben across the water rings out midnight to the Lambeth towers, and on the last stroke, closes the primacy of a great archbishop, a great statesman, a great christian.

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But the story of Lambeth begins anew.

APPENDIX

LIST OF CONSECRATIONS IN LAMBETH PALACE CHAPEL 1278-1928

List of Consecrations in the Chapel of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace

(From *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, Stubbs. Edition of 1897, with an Appendix of Indian, Colonial and Missionary Consecrations by E. E. Holmes, Honorary Canon of Christchurch.)

The thirteen consecrations prior to 1200 are described as taking place "At Lambeth" *i.e.*, in the chapel of the monks of Rochester.

Name	*See*	*Date*
Richard	Hereford	1121 Jan. 16
Gregory	Dublin	1121 Oct. 2
Seffrid Pelochin	Chichester	1125 April 12
Nigel	Ely	1133 Oct. 1
Gilbert	S. Asaph	1143
Geoffrey of Monmouth	S. Asaph	1152 Feb. 24
John of Oxford	Norwich	1175 Dec. 14
Baldwin	Worcester	1180 Aug. 10
William Saltmarsh	Llandaff	1186 Aug. 10
William de Vere	Hereford	
Hugh of Nonant	Lichfield	1188 Jan. 31
William Longchamp	Ely	1189 Dec. 31
Richard Fitz Neal	London	
John Chishull	London	1274 April 29
William Middleton	Norwich	1278 May 29
John Bradfield	Rochester	
Oliver Sutton	Lincoln	1299 Nov. 13
Richard Bintworth	London	1338 July 12
William S. Leger	Meath	1350 May 2

Name	*See*	*Date*
Reginald Brian	S. David's	1350 Sept. 26
William Courtenay	Hereford [Confirmed at Lambeth	1370 March 19
William Spridlington	S. Asaph.	1376 May 25
Robert Braybrooke	London	1382 Jan 5
John Fordham	Durham	
Edmund Stafford	Exeter	1395 June 20
John Chandler	Sarum	1417 Dec. 12
Robert Neville	Sarum (" in the Great Chapel.")	1427 Oct. 26
Simon Sydenham	Chichester [Profession " post munus " at Lambeth, February 11].	1431
"Episcopus Lexoviensis"—the Pope's collector in England	———	1444 Nov. 1
Adam de Moleyns	Chichester	1446 Feb. 6
Walter Lehart	Norwich	1446 March 20 or 27
Richard Beauchamp	Hereford	1449 Feb. 9
John Morton	Ely	1479 Jan. 31
Richard Hill	London	1489 Nov. 15
Thomas Savage	Rochester	1493 April 28
John Blyth	Sarum	1494 Feb. 23
Richard Fitz James	Rochester	1497 May 21
Richard Mayew	Hereford	1504 Oct. 27
Thomas Skevington	Bangor	1509 June 17
Edward Vaughan	S. David's	1509 July 22
Edmund Birkhead	S. Asaph	1513 May 29
Thomas Wolsey	Lincoln	1514 March 26
William Atwater	Lincoln	1514 Nov. 12
Nicholas West	Ely	1515 Oct. 7
John Longlands	Lincoln	1521 May 5
Cuthbert Tunstall	London	1522 Oct. 19
Richard Rawlins	S. David's	1523 April 26
George Brown	Dublin	
Thomas Manning	Ipswich (suffragan)	1536 March 19
John Salisbury	Thetford (suffragan)	
Richard Sampson	Chichester	1536 June 11
William Rugge or Repps	Norwich	

Name	*See*	*Date*
Robert Parfew	S. Asaph	1536 July 2
Lewis Thomas	Shrewsbury (suffragan)	1537 June 24
John Bird	Penreth (suffragan)	
Thomas Morley	Marlborough (suffragan)	1537 Nov. 4
John Skip	Hereford	1539 Nov. 23
John Poynet	Rochester	1550 June 29
John Hooper	Gloucester	1551 March 8
Matthew Parker	Canterbury	1559 Dec. 17
Edmund Grindal	London	1559 Dec. 21
Richard Cox	Ely	
Rowland Meyrick	Bangor	
Edwin Sandys	Worcester	
Nicolas Bullingham	Lincoln	1560 Jan. 21
John Jewell	Salisbury	
Thomas Young	S. David's	
Richard Davies	S. Asaph	
Edmund Gheast	Rochester	1560 March 24
Gilbert Berkeley	Bath	
Thomas Bentham	Coventry	
William Alley	Exeter	1560 July 14
John Parkhurst	Norwich	1560 Sept. 1
Robert Horne	Winchester	1561 Feb. 16
Edmund Scambler	Peterborough	
Richard Cheyney	Gloucester	1562 April 19
Hugh Jones	Llandaff	1566 May 5
Nicholas Robinson	Bangor	1566 Oct. 20
Richard Rogers	Dover (suffragan)	1569 May 15
Thomas Cowper	Lincoln	1571 Feb. 24
William Bradbridge	Exeter	1571 March 18
Edmund Freke	Rochester	1572 March 9
William Hughes	S. Asaph	1573 Dec. 13
William Blethin	Llandaff	1575 April 17
John Piers	Rochester	1576 April 15
John Meyrick	Sodor and Man	
John Aylmer	London	1577 March 24
John Whitgift	Worcester	1577 April 21
John Young	Rochester	1578 March 16

Name	*See*	*Date*	
Thomas Godwin	Bath	1584	Sept. 13
William Wickham	Lincoln	1584	Dec. 6
Richard Howland	Peterborough	1585	Feb. 7
Herbert Westfaling	Hereford	1586	Jan. 30
Hugh Bellott	Bangor		
Thomas Bickley	Chichester		
Richard Fletcher	Bristol	1589	Dec. 14
John Underhill	Oxford		
John Coldwell	Sarum	1591	Dec. 26
John Still	Bath	1593	Feb. 11
Anthony Rudd	S. David's	1594	June 9
William Redman	Norwich	1595	Jan. 12
William Day	Winchester	1596	Jan. 25
Richard Vaughan	Bangor		
Thomas Bilson	Worcester	1596	June 13
Anthony Watson	Chichester	1596	Aug. 15
Richard Bancroft	London	1597	May 8
Godfrey Goldsborough	Gloucester	1598	Nov. 12
William Cotton	Exeter		
Henry Cotton	Sarum		
Henry Rowlands	Bangor		
Martin Heaton	Ely	1600	Feb. 3
Thomas Dover	Peterborough	1601	April 26
Robert Bennett	Hereford	1603	Feb. 20
John Jegon	Norwich		
John Bridges	Oxford	1604	Feb. 12
Richard Parry	S. Asaph	1604	Dec. 30
Thomas Ravis	Gloucester	1605	March 17
William Barlow	Rochester	1605	June 30
Launcelot Andrewes	Chichester	1605	Nov. 3
Henry Parry	Gloucester	1607	July 12
James Montague	Bath	1608	April 17
Richard Neile	Rochester	1608	Oct. 9
George Abbot	Lichfield	1609	Dec. 3
Samuel Harsnett	Chichester		
Giles Thompson	Gloucester	1611	June 9
John Buckridge	Rochester		
John King	London	1611	Sept. 8
John Overall	Lichfield	1614	April 3
Richard Milbourne	S. David's	1615	July 9
Robert Abbot	Sarum	1615	Dec. 3

Name	*See*	*Date*	
Thomas Morton	Chester	1616	July 7
Arthur Lake	Bath	1616	Dec. 8
Lewis Bayly	Bangor		
Nicolas Felton	Bristol	1617	Dec. 14
George Monteigne	Lincoln		
Martin Fotherby	Sarum	1618	April 1
George Carleton	Llandaff	1618	July 12
John Bridgman	Chester	1619	May 9
John Howson	Oxford		
Rowland Searchfield	Bristol		
Theophilus Field	Llandaff	1619	Oct. 10
Robert Townson	Sarum	1620	July 9
Robert Wright	Bristol	1623	March 23
John Hanmer	S. Asaph	1624	Feb. 15
Godfrey Goodman	Gloucester	1625	March 6
Richard Corbett	Oxford	1628	Oct. 19
John Bowle	Rochester	1630	Feb. 7
David Dolben	Bangor	1632	March 4
John Bancroft	Oxford	1632	June 10
Augustine Lindsell	Peterborough	1633	Feb. 10
George Coke	Bristol		
William Juxon	London	1633	Oct. 27
Edmund Griffith	Bangor	1634	Feb. 16
Francis Dee	Peterborough	1634	May 18
Matthew Wren	Hereford	1635	March 8
Roger Mainwaring	S. David's	1636	Feb. 28
Robert Skinner	Bristol	1637	Jan. 15
John Warner	Rochester	1638	Jan. 14
Brian Duppa	Chichester	1638	June 17
John Towers	Peterborough	1639	Jan. 13
Morgan Owen	Llandaff	1640	March 29
John Hackett	Lichfield	1661	Dec. 22
Herbert Croft	Hereford	1662	Feb. 9
Seth Ward	Exeter	1662	July 20
Joseph Henshaw	Peterborough	1663	May 10
William Paul	Oxford	1663	Dec. 20
Robert Morgan	Bangor	1666	July 1
John Dolben	Rochester	1666	Nov. 25
Francis Davies	Llandaff	1667	Aug. 24
Henry Glemham	S. Asaph	1667	Oct. 13
Antony Sparrow	Exeter	1667	Nov. 3

Name	*See*	*Date*	
Peter Gunning	Chichester	1670	March 6
Robert Creighton	Bath	1670	June 19
Thomas Wood	Lichfield	1671	July 2
Nathaniel Crewe	Oxford		
John Pritchett	Gloucester	1672	Nov. 3.
John Pearson	Chester	1673	Feb. 9
Peter Mews	Bath		
Henry Compton	Oxford	1674	Dec. 6
Ralph Brideoake	Chichester	1675	April 18
William Lloyd	Llandaff		
Thomas Lamplugh	Exeter	1676	Nov. 12
William Sancroft	Canterbury	1678	Jan. 27
William Thomas	S. David's		
William Gulston	Bristol	1679	Feb. 9
William Beaw	Llandaff	1679	June 22
William Lloyd	S. Asaph	1680	Oct. 3
Francis Turner	Rochester	1683	Nov. 11
Laurence Womock	S. David's		
Thomas Spratt	Rochester	1684	Nov. 2
Thomas Ken	Bath	1685	Jan. 25
Baptist Levinz	Sodor and Man	1685	March 15
Thomas White	Peterborough	1685	Oct. 25
Jonathan Trelawney	Bristol	1685	Nov. 8
John Lloyd	S. David's	1686	Oct. 17
Samuel Parker	Oxford		
Thomas Cartwright	Chester		
Thomas Watson	S. David's	1687	June 26
Timothy Hall	Oxford	1688	Oct. 7
Thomas Tenison	Lincoln	1692	Jan. 10
James Gardiner	Lincoln	1695	March 10
William Talbot	Oxford	1699	Sept. 24
John Evans	Bangor	1702	Jan. 4
William Nicholson	Carlisle	1702	June 14
George Hooper	S. Asaph	1703	Oct. 31
William Beveridge	S. Asaph	1704	July 16
George Bull	S. David's	1705	April 29
William Wake	Lincoln	1705	Oct. 21
John Tyler	Llandaff	1706	June 30
Offspring Blackall	Exeter	1708	Feb. 8
Charles Trimnell	Norwich		
William Fleetwood	S. Asaph	1708	June 6

Name	*See*	*Date*
Thomas Manningham	Chichester	1709 Nov. 13
John Robinson	Bristol	1710 Nov. 19
Philip Bisse	S. David's	
Adam Ottley	S. David's	1713 March 15
Francis Atterbury	Rochester	1713 July 5
George Smalridge	Bristol	1714 April 4
Richard Willis	Gloucester	1715 Jan. 16
John Wynne	S. Asaph	1715 Feb. 6
John Potter	Oxford	1715 May 15
Edward Chandler	Lichfield	1717 Nov. 17
Samuel Bradford	Carlisle	1718 June 1
White Kennett	Peterborough	1718 Nov. 9
Hugh Boulter	Bristol	1719 Nov. 15
Thomas Greene	Norwich	1721 Oct. 8
Richard Reynolds	Bangor	1721 Dec. 3
Joseph Wilcocks	Gloucester	
Thomas Bowers	Chichester	1722 Oct. 7
John Waugh	Carlisle	1723 Oct. 13
John Leng	Norwich	1723 Nov. 3
Henry Egerton	Hereford	1724 Feb. 2
Richard Smallbrooke	S. David's	
Edward Waddington	Chichester	1724 Oct. 11
William Bradshaw	Bristol	1724 Oct. 18
Stephen Weston	Exeter	1724 Dec. 28
Robert Clavering	Llandaff	1725 Jan. 2
Francis Hare	S. Asaph	1727 Dec. 17
Thomas Sherlock	Bangor	1728 Feb. 4
John Harris	Llandaff	1729 Oct. 19
Nicolas Claggett	S. Davids	1732 Jan. 23
Thomas Tanner	S. Asaph	
Martin Benson	Gloucester	1735 Jan. 19
Thomas Secker	Bristol	
George Fleming	Carlisle	
Isaac Maddox	S. Asaph	1736 July 4
Thomas Gooch	Bristol	1737 June 12
Thomas Herring	Bangor	1738 Jan. 15
Joseph Butter	Bristol	1738 Dec. 3
Matthew Mawson	Llandaff	1739 Feb. 18
John Gilbert	Llandaff	1740 Dec. 28
Edward Willes	S. David's	1743 Jan. 2
Matthew Hutton	Bangor	1743 Nov. 13

Name	*See*	*Date*	
John Thomas	Lincoln		
Samuel Lisle	S. Asaph	1744	April 1
Richard Trevor	S. David's		
James Beauclerk	Hereford	1746	May 11
George Lavington	Exeter	1747	Feb. 8
John Thomas	Peterborough	1747	Oct. 4
Richard Osbaldeston	Carlisle		
Thomas Hayter	Norwich	1749	Dec. 3
Frederick Cornwallis	Lichfield	1750	Feb. 19
John Conybeare	Bristol	1750	Dec. 23
James Johnson	Gloucester	1752	Dec. 10
Antony Ellis	S. David's	1753	Jan. 28
William Ashburnham	Chichester	1754	March 31
Richard Newcome	Llandaff	1755	April 13
John Hume	Bristol	1756	July 4
John Egerton	Bangor		
Richard Terrick	Peterborough	1757	July 3
William Warburton	Gloucester	1760	Jan. 20
Samuel Squire	S. David's	1761	May 24
John Ewer	Llandaff	1761	Sept. 13
John Green	Lincoln	1761	Dec. 28
Thomas Newton	Bristol		
Frederick Keppel	Exeter	1762	Nov. 7
Robert Lambe	Peterborough	1764	July 8
Robert Lowth	S. David's	1766	June 15
Charles Moss	S. David's	1766	Nov. 30
Jonathan Shipley	Llandaff	1769	Feb. 12
Shute Barrington	Llandaff	1769	Oct. 1
John Hinchcliffe	Peterborough	1769	Dec. 17
Brownlow North	Lichfield	1771	Sept. 8
James Yorke	S. David's	1774	June 26
John Thomas	Rochester	1774	Nov. 13
Richard Hurd	Lichfield	1775	Feb. 12
John Moore	Bangor		
John Butler	Oxford	1777	May 25
John Ross	Exeter	1778	Jan. 25
Thomas Thurlow	Lincoln	1779	May 30
John Warren	S. David's	1779	Sept. 19
James Cornwallis	Lichfield	1781	Sept. 16
Samuel Hallifax	Gloucester	1781	Oct. 28
Lewis Bagot	Bristol	1782	April 7

Name	*See*	*Date*	
Richard Watson	Llandaff	1782	Oct. 20
Edward Smallwell	S. David's	1783	July 6
William White	Pennsylvania	1787	Feb. 4
Samuel Provoost	New York		
George Pretyman	Lincoln	1787	March 11
Charles Inglis	Nova Scotia	1787	Aug. 12
John Harley	Hereford	1787	Dec. 9
Samuel Horsley	S. David's	1788	May 11
Richard Beadon	Gloucester	1789	June 7
George Horne	Norwich	1790	June 6
James Madison	Virginia	1790	Sept. 19
Charles Manners Sutton	Norwich	1792	April 8
Spencer Madan	Bristol	1792	June 3
William Buller	Exeter	1792	Dec. 2
William Stewart	S. David's	1794	Jan. 12
Henry Reginald Courtenay	Bristol	1794	May 11
Ffolliot Herbert Walker Cornewall	Bristol	1797	April 9
John Buckner	Chichester	1798	March 4
John Randolph	Oxford	1799	Sept. 1
George Murray	S. David's	1801	Feb. 11
George Isaac Huntingford	Gloucester	1802	June 27
Thomas Dampier	Rochester	1802	Aug. 22
George Pelham	Bristol	1803	March 27
Thomas Burgess	S. David's	1803	July 17
John Fisher	Exeter		
Henry Bathurst	Norwich	1805	April 28
Charles Moss	Oxford	1807	Feb. 1
John Luxmoore	Bristol	1807	Oct. 4
William Lort Mansel	Bristol	1808	Oct. 30
Walker King	Rochester	1809	Feb. 12
William Jackson	Oxford	1812	Feb. 23
William Howley	London	1813	Oct. 3
John Parsons	Peterborough	1813	Dec. 12
Henry Ryder	Gloucester	1815	July 30
Edward Legge	Oxford	1816	March 24
Herbert Marsh	Llandaff	1816	Aug. 25
William Van Mildert	Llandaff	1819	May 31
John Kaye	Bristol	1820	July 30
William Carey	Exeter	1820	Nov. 12
Christopher Bethell	Gloucester	1824	April 11

Name	*See*	*Date*	
Robert James Carr	Chichester	1824	June 6
John Banks Jenkinson	S. David's	1825	July 24
Charles Richard Sumner	Llandaff	1826	May 21
Charles Lloyd	Oxford	1827	March 4
Robert Gray	Bristol	1827	March 25
Hugh Percy	Rochester	1827	July 15
Edward Copleston	Llandaff	1828	Jan. 13
Richard Bagot	Oxford	1829	Aug. 23
James Henry Monk	Gloucester	1830	July 11
Henry Philpotts	Exeter	1831	Jan. 2
Edward Maltby	Chichester	1831	Oct. 2
Edward Grey	Hereford	1832	May 20
Joseph Allen	Bristol	1834	Dec. 7
Samuel Butler	Lichfield	1836	July 3
William Otter	Chichester	1836	Oct. 2
Edward Denison	Sarum	1837	April 16
Edward Stanley	Norwich	1837	June 11
Thomas Musgrave	Hereford	1837	Oct. 1
James Bowstead	Sodor and Man	1838	July 22
George Davys	Peterborough	1839	June 16
Connop Thirlwall	S. David's	1840	Aug. 9
Philip Nicholas Shuttleworth	Chichester	1840	Sept. 20
Ashhurst Turner Gilbert	Chichester	1842	Feb. 27
John Lonsdale	Lichfield	1843	Dec. 3
Thomas Turton	Ely	1845	May 4
Samuel Wilberforce	Oxford	1845	Nov. 30
Renn Dickson Hampden	Hereford	1848	March 26
Samuel Hinds Alfred Ollivant	Norwich Llandaff	1849	Dec. 2
Walter Kerr Hamilton	Salisbury	1854	May 14
Charles Baring	Gloucester and Bristol	1856	Aug. 10
Henry Philpott	Worcester	1861	March 25
William Thomson	Gloucester and Bristol	1861	Dec. 15
Edward Parry	Dover (suffragan)	1870	March 25
Charles Gore	Worcester	*1902	Feb. 23

* The names from this date onwards are kindly supplied by the Vicar General's Office.

Name	*See*	*Date*
John Philips Allcot Bowers	Thetford	1903 June 29
Robert Henry Whitcombe	Colchester	1909 Feb. 21
John Hugh Granville Randolph	Guildford	
Gerald Burton Allen	Sherborne	1928 May 6

INDIAN, COLONIAL AND MISSIONARY CONSECRATIONS

Name	*See*	*Date*
Charles Inglis	Nova Scotia	1787 Aug. 21
Jacob Mountain	Quebec	1793 July 7
Thomas Fanshawe Middleton	Calcutta	1814 May 8
Robert Stanser	Nova Scotia	1816 May 19
Reginald Heber	Calcutta	1823 June 1
Christopher Lipscomb	Jamaica	1824 July 25
William Hart Coleridge	Barbados and the Windward Isles	
John Inglis	Nova Scotia	1825 March 27
Charles James Stewart	Quebec	1826 Jan. 1
John Thomas James	Calcutta	1827 June 3
John Matthias Turner	Calcutta	1829 May 17
Daniel Wilson	Calcutta	1832 April 29
Daniel Corrie	Madras	1835 June 14
George Jehoshaphat Mountain	Quebec	1836 Feb. 14
William Grant Broughton	Australia	
George John Trevor Spencer	Madras	1837 Nov. 19
Thomas Carr	Bombay	
John Strachan	Toronto	1839 Aug 4
Aubrey George Spencer	Newfoundland	
George Augustine Selwyn	New Zealand	1841 Oct. 17
Michael Solomon Alexander	Jerusalem and the East	1841 Nov. 7

Name	*See*	*Date*	
Edward Feild	Newfoundland	1844	April 28
John Medley	Fredericton	1845	May 4
John Chapman	Colombo		
Samuel Gobat	Jerusalem and the East	1846	July 5
Thomas Dealtry	Madras	1849	Dec. 2
Hibbert Binney	Nova Scotia	1851	March 25
John Harding	Bombay	1851	Aug. 10
Owen Emeric Vidal	Sierra Leone	1852	May 30
Vincent William Ryan	Mauritius	1854	Nov. 30
Frederick Barker	Sydney		
Reginald Courtenay	Jamaica (coadjutor)	1856	March 24
Henry John Chitty Harper	Christchurch N.Z.	1856	Aug. 10
Matthew Blagden Hale	Perth (Aus).	1857	July 25
John Bowen	Sierra Leone	1857	Sept. 21
Benjamin Cronyn	Huron	1857	Oct. 28
Stephen Jordan Rigaud	Antigua	1858	Feb. 2
Edward Hyndman Beckles	Sierra Leone	1860	Feb. 2
Frederick Gell	Madras	1861	June 29
Charles Caulfeild	Nassau	1861	Nov. 24
Thomas Nettleship Staley	Honolulu	1861	Dec. 15
Thomas Earle Welby	St. Helena	1862	May 29
Addington Robert Peel Venables	Nassau	1863	Nov. 30
Robert Machray	Rupertsland	1865	June 24
Hugh Willoughby Jermyn	Colombo	1871	Oct. 28
Alfred Willis	Honolulu	1872	Feb. 2
John Maclean	Saskatchewan	1874	May 3
William Carpenter Bompas	Athabasca		
George Frederick Hose	Singapore, Labuan and Sarawak	1881	May 26
Herbert Bree	Barbados	1882	May 1
Charles James Branch	Antigua (co-adjutor)	1882	July 25
Arthur William Poole	South Tokyo	1883	Oct. 18
Edward Townson Churton	Nassau	1886	Feb. 24
George Francis Popham Blyth	Jerusalem and the East	1887	March 25

Name	*See*	*Date*	
Edward Noel Hodges	Travancore and Cochin	1890	April 25
Herbert Tugwell	Western Equatorial Africa	*1894	March 4
Henry Evington	Kiu-shiu		
Herbert Mather	Antigua	1897	July 18
James Johnson	Western Africa (asst. Bishop)	1900	Feb. 18
Geoffrey Durnford Iliff	Shantung	1903	Oct. 28
William Robert Mounsey	Labuan	1909	March 25
Frederick Devaynes Blair	Falkland Islands	1910	March 6
Mowbray Stephen O'Rorke	Accra	1913	Jan. 25
Ernest Denny Logie Danson	Labuan and Sarawak	1917	Sept. 21
John Hind	Fuh-kien	1918	Oct. 18
Leonard Stanley Kempthorne	Polynesia	1923	March 4
John Holden	Kwangsi and Hunan	1923	July 25
Edward Alfred Livingstone Moore	Travancore and Cochin	1925	Feb. 24
William George Hardie	Jamaica	1928	May 6

* The names from this date onwards are kindly supplied by the Vicar General's Office.

NOTE ON THE MAP OF 1812

THE map of Lambeth Palace and its surroundings in 1812, reproduced on page 229, extends from Westminster Bridge on the northern boundary to a line drawn immediately south of the Palace Yard. From this point the old Church St., continued by a series of old-fashioned terraces, of which Lambeth Terrace still remains, followed diagonally the direction of the present Lambeth Road. The river, which here runs north and south, forms the western boundary of the map.

In the south-west corner the Palace buildings are seen ; the entrance through Morton's gateway into the outer court ; Juxon's Hall abutting eastwards on the inner court ; and northwards on the Cloisters ; the outline of the northern façade, the Chapel, the Great Gallery, looking on to ample pleasure gardens and the large artificial lake. The river foreshore preserves a vanished aspect of Thames-side history. The Bishops' Walk, known also as Churchway, skirts the Palace grounds, leading from Lambeth Town to Lambeth Marsh. From Palace Yard, with its Stairs, northwards this walk bordered the river—then a wedge of low ground, 80 to 90 feet in depth, now the site of St. Thomas's Hospital, thrust in on the left hand ; it was known as the Bank, or Wall Bank.

From the Restoration onwards through the early eighteenth century this marshy area was cut up into plots which were leased out for the erection of barge-houses. Archbishop Moore made his new garden, seen on the map, out of the southern portion.

Next came two plots rented for their barge-house by the Haberdashers' Company, and from 1805 onwards by the Grocers' Company. The Stationers had a plot (130 b.) throughout the eighteenth century, until the Embankment was built ; upon another (126) were two barge-houses of the Goldsmiths' and Skinners' Companies ; the Drapers held a plot (128) from 1704 to 1785 ; the Barber-Surgeons (129) from 1690 to 1724 ; the Armourers (125) from 1661 to 1717. But it was not only the gorgeous barges of the City Companies which pushed out from Lambeth Shore to join such waterside pageants as Canaletto painted.

The Prince of Wales, and afterwards George IV, kept a barge here from 1716 to 1800 : and the Royal Barge for the King and Queen was stabled upon plot 123 onwards from 1662.

The Archbishop's own Barge House stood a little distance away, in the south corner of the Palace Yard (parcel No. 2, plot 106). It was apparently a substantial brick structure, with a chamber over, which was leased to private tenants from as early as 1657 ; the first occupier was Paul Ffrench, gent. of Lambeth ; in 1678 Philip Jacob, gent. of Lambeth held the lease.

From 1694 the Lambeth Watermen leased their own plying place (103), where there was no barge-house.

This lease was renewed upon petition in 1704, when the watermen signed an undertaking not to tie up to the Archbishop's stage, so as to cause damage, and to put up a notice forbidding the practice. In the event of a breach of the undertaking, the watermen engaged themselves " either by ourselves, our friends or servants, to break, cut and destroy all such tethers as shall be made use of for ye tying anything whatsoever to the said wharfe, Banke, Rayles or Stayres, and so turn whatsoever is so found adrift into ye River of Thames."

The Commissioners of Admiralty appear to have leased a Shipwright's yard and other property, holding it until the lease expired upon the construction of the Embankment in 1865. Latterly many of the barge-houses were converted into private dwellings or used for boat-building or other business purposes.

In 1851 the name of the London and Westminster Steam Boat Company appears among the lessees.

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO. LTD.
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, GLASGOW.